


XE=  
NO=

PHONS TREA=  
TISE OF  
HOVSHOLDE

1534

TO THE REDER.

 This boke of householde, full of  
hyghe wisedome, written by the noble  
philosopher Xenophon, the scholer of  
Socrates, the whiche for his swete es-  
loquence, and incredible facilitie, was  
surnamed *Musa Attica*, that is to say,  
the songe of Athenes: is ryght couns-  
ynly traïlated out of the greke tonge  
into Englysshe, by Gentian Heruet at  
the desire of mayster Greffrey Pole,  
whiche boke for the welthe of this re-  
alme, I deme very profitable to be red

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householde.



Harde vpon a time the  
wyse Socrates com=  
mune of the ordring of  
an house, speakynge to  
one Critobulus, after  
this maner. Telle me  
Critobulus, is the or=  
dringe of an house, the  
name of a science, lykewyse as phisyke is,  
and masons and carpenters crafte? Some  
thinketh, sayd Critobulus. Whether than  
may we tel, what is the dutie, and the pro=  
pre office, of the ordrynge of an house, like  
wise as we can tell of other craftes and sci=  
ences? He thynketh, sayde Critobulus,  
it longeth to a good husbände, and a good  
ordrer of an house, to guide wel and order  
his owne house. But yet sayd So. If one  
dyd put him in trust, and charge him to or=  
der his house, coude not he order it as wel  
as his owne, if he wolde? For he that hath  
a carpenters crafte well, he can worke as  
wel for an other, as he can for hym selfe, &  
may not a good husband, wel expert in the  
ordrynge of an house, do lyke wyse? He  
thinketh yes, good Socrates. I haue a

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man, sayde Socrates, that is well sene in that science, though he haue no substance, nor no goodes hym selfe, maye get his lyuynge, and haue good wages, if he wyll order an other mans house, as wel as he that buyldeth an house. In good saythe, sayde Critobulus, he were worthy to haue very good wages, if he coule take an other mans house in hande, and do euery thyng, that belōgeth to it, & make the hous better in goodes and in substance. But what do we meane by the house, whether is it nothing els but the bare house, or whether al maner of thynges, that a man hath oute of the house, be belonging to the hous? He thynketh, sayd Crito. that althoughe that, that a man hath, be not within the towne, where he dwelleth, but in the countrey, or any where els, that all doth belonge to the hous, what so euer a mā hath. And be there not some men, that haue enmyes? Yes marry, & a gret meiny to. And shal we say, that their enmyes be their goodes or substance? By my feyth it were a mery ieste, if he that hath caused vs to haue mo enmyes thā we had, wold haue a rewarde for it besyde, for bycause we haue iuged a mans house, and that that a man hath, to be al one. Ye but I do not accompte that amonge a mans substance

stance and goodes, that is nought and hurtful vnto him, but that that is good and profitable. Than, as farre as I se, ye cal that a mans goodes and substaunce, that is profitable vnto hym? Ye may do I, and suche thinges as be hurtful, I cal them damages and not goodes. And what if a man bye a horse, that he can not ryde, but fall downe from his backe, and so doo him selfe a displeasure, is not that horse his goodes? No by my faye, seing those thinges be goodes that be good. Nor the grounde than shall not be called goodes vnto a mā, the which occupieth it so, that he hath damage by it. Nor the ground shall not be called goodes, if where that a man shoulde be founde and nourished by it, he dyeth for hungre. Than it fareth lykewyse by shepe. If a man hath any damage, by the reason that he can not guyde them, nor order them as he shulde, the shepe shall not be goodes vnto hym? We thynketh no. Than, as farre as it seemeth by you, ye cal those thinges goodes, that be profitable, and those thynges that be hurtefull be no goodes? Some thynketh. Than one selfe thyng shall be called goodes vnto him that cā vse it as he shuld, & to hym that can not, it shalbe no goodes: like wise as recorders be goodes vnto him

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that can play on them somewhat according:  
but vnto him that can not, they be no other  
wise good thā stones, that be vnprofitable,  
excepte a man do selle them. And soo lyke  
wyse by the recorders, if we sel them, they  
be good: but if we kepe them, and can not  
occupie thē, they be no goodes. We must  
nedes agree in this tale, seing we haue said  
afore, that those thynges, that be profita-  
ble, be goodes. For the recorders, as long  
as we kepe them vnsolde, they be no goo-  
des, for they do vs no good: but if they be  
sold, they be goodes. Ye mary, said So. if  
one haue the wit to sel thē wel. But if one  
do sell them, that can not order hym selfe,  
euen whan they be al redy sold, they be no  
goodes, according to your tale. He thin-  
keth ye saye sy? Socr. that nor yet money  
nother is goodes, excepte a man can vse it.  
Some thinketh, ye haue graunted alredy,  
that those thynges be called goodes, that  
a man getteth any profite by. But if a man  
did bestowe his money vpon an harlot, and  
that by the reason of dayelye conuersation  
with her, his bodye were the weaker, his  
soule the worse disposed, and his house the  
worse kepte and ordered, howe shuld mo-  
ney be profitable vnto hym? It can not be  
in no case, excepte peraduenture we wyll  
call

call our goodes a poyson, the which whan  
a mā doth eate of it, it bringeth him out of  
his witte. But as for money, frend Crito-  
bulus, if a man can not vse it, as he shulde,  
let him cast it away farre from him. For it  
is nother profitable vnto hym, nor may be  
called goodes. But as for frendes, if a mā  
can vse them, so that he get some profite of  
them, what shal we say that they be? Good-  
des forsoth, sayd Crito. and moche more  
than shepe or oxen, seinge they be a great  
deale more profitable. Than, according to  
your tale, our enmies lykewyse be goodes  
vnto him, that can geat profite of them. So  
me thiketh. And it is a point thā of a good  
husbād, and a good ordier of an house, to  
haue awaye, to vse his enmies soo, that he  
may get some profit by them. In any case.  
For ye se wel inoughe, good Crito. howe  
many mean mens houses, and howe many  
lordes & kingis dominions haue ben increa-  
sed and amplyñed by the reason of warre.  
Forsoth sy: So me thinketh ye haue very  
wel spoken in this matter, but what thinke  
you by this; whan that we se that som mē,  
which haue sciences, good wages, & good  
proprieties, wherby they might make their  
houses the better, if they wolde put them  
self to it: yet we may wel se & pceiue, they

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woll not do it. And therfore we se, that the  
sciēces ⁊ good proprieties, that they haue,  
auayle them nothyng: whether than shal  
those sciences, that they haue, be accomted  
for their goodes and substance, or for some  
what els? Ye said Socra. me thynketh, ye  
meane that, by bond men, and by some vile  
persons. No by my feyth I: but I speake  
of some of them, that be honest mens son-  
nes and gentilmennes to, the whiche I se,  
that some of them, that be experte bothe in  
those thynges, that longe to warre, and al-  
so to peace, yet they woll not put them sel-  
fes to none of them. and me thynketh, they  
shuld be in a better case, if they were bond  
men. For I suppose, that they do not that  
that they shuld, for bycause they lacke mai-  
sters to putte them to it. Howe canne that  
stande, sayde Socrates, that they haue no  
maisters, whan that they desiring to liue in  
welthe and felicitie, and mynded to do that  
that wolde be for their profit: their lordes  
and superiours do let them, that they shall  
not do it? And what be they, sayde Crito-  
bulus, that be inuisible, and yet ordre them  
thus? Nay they be not all soo inuisible, no,  
I wis they be clere inoughe to euery mans  
sight. And ye knowe well your selfe, they  
be moſte vngracious and moſt mischeuous  
of all,

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of all, if slouthfulnes, sluggardise, lacke of stomacke and quickenesse, lacke of talenge hede, and also negligence maye be take for vngratiousnes. And beside these, there be other deceitfull ladies, the which do come in vnder the colour & name of pleasures, playenge at dice and cardes, vnprofytable trisyng and keepyng company with vnthriftes, the whiche in proces of tyme do shewe playnlye vnto theyr adherentes, by them deceiued, that among plesures, there is somme wo and some sorowe myngled. These ladies kepe them so in seruage and thraldome, that they can not be suffred to do nothyng, that is for theyr profytte. Ye but there be some other, good Socra. the which haue no such, to let them from their busines, but rather applye them selves wel fauordly to theyr busines, and seke and imaginal the waies possible to get them good with al: yet they do stroye them selves, minishe their liuelode, & distroy their houses. And as concernyng to fynde any remedy, they beat their wittes endes. And they also, saide Socrates, be lyke wyse bondemen, as other be, and haue ouer them very sore and cruell felowes to their maisters. Some of them be in the thraldome of glotony, some of licorousnes, some of drunken-

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nes,

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nes, some of vayne pryde, and costly vayne glozve, the whiche kepe their subiectes so sore in seruitude and bondage, that as long as they se them yong and lustie, and able to worke, they make them to bringe them all that euer they can get, to bestowe it vpon their lustis and pleasures. But whan they perceyue, they be so old, that they can not worke, then they let them alone with a mischief, to liue wretchedly in their old age, and seke other, that they may brynge into their seruice lykewyse. But it behoueth gentil Critobulus, to strue and fight with them for our own libertie, none otherwise, than we wolde with them, the which, with naked swordes and weapons in their handes, go about to bring vs in to thraldome & seruytude. Enmyes, if that they be good honest men, whan they haue brought some men into their subiection, they cause many to be moche better, teachynge them to be reuly and tēperate, that afore wer to high mynded and to fierce. But as for these ladies, they neuer cesse, but be euer more punishing, beatinge, and turmentinge the bodies, the soules, and the houses of thē that they haue vnder: and that they do as longe as they be their maistresses. Then Critobulus saide vnto hym after this maner. Als  
for

for this matter me thinketh, I haue harde  
you speke sufficiently in it. And whan I  
groe and serche wel my cōscience, I find,  
that me thinketh, I can very well refraine  
all maner of such thynges. Wherfore if ye  
wil grue me counsaile, howe I maye do, to  
encrease & make my hous better, I thinke,  
I shall be nothinge let of them that ye call  
ladyes. And therfore tell me with a good  
wil, if ye haue any goodnes in this matter.  
Or els ye thynke parauenture, that we be  
ryche inoughe, and nede no more goodes.  
By my faith, saide Socrates, in dede, if ye  
speake of me, I nede no more goodes, but  
I am ryche inough. But as for you Crito-  
bulus, me thinketh ye be very poore. And  
by the feithe I owe to god, I haue some-  
times gret pitie of you. Than Critobulus  
laughinge saide: And I pray you for god-  
dis sake, if al your goodes were sold, what  
shulde ye haue for them? And what shulde  
I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them?  
I thynke, sayd Socrates, that if I myght  
mete with a good byer, I shulde haue wel  
for my house, and for all my goodes a. v. or  
vi. marke. But as for yours, I know very  
wel, that ye shulde haue an hundred tymes  
more. And ye that knowe this, do ye think  
your selfe, that ye lacke no more goodes,  
and

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and haue pite of me, bicause of my pouerte.  
) For that that I haue is sufficient inough to  
fynde me that that is necessary. But for to  
meintein your state, and the woushypp, that  
ye haue taken vpon you, me semeth, that if  
ye had foure tymes as moche more, as ye  
haue, it were not inoughe. And howe so,  
sayd Critobulus: Than sayde Socrates:  
Fyrste of all I se, that ye must nedes make  
many feastis and many great bankettes, or  
the people wyll skante abyde the sighte of  
you. More ouer ye must receiue into your  
houses many strangers, and intreate them  
honorably, keping good hospitalitie. Fur=  
thermore, ye must byd many men to dyner,  
and do them some pleasure, or elles at your  
nede, ye shal haue no manne to helpe you.  
Moreouer, I perceiue, that the cite of A=  
thenes beginneth to put you to many gret  
charges, as to fynde horses, to helpe to  
bulde thinges longing to the cite, to make  
musters of mē, to cause goodly vageātes to  
be made, & goodly plaies to be plaide. But  
if there come in war ones, I am sure, they  
wyll haue so moche money frō you, what in  
taxes, what in subsidies, and what in prea=  
stis, that ye shall scant be able to beare it.  
And if ye seme to paye somewhat lesse than  
your power is, they woll punyſhe you as  
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fore, as though they had founde you robbing the common tresorie. Besyde this, I see that ye haue this opynion, that ye be riche, and that ye care not to get no more goodes, & that ye gyue your selfe to vaine and chyldishe pleasures, as ye may wel do, The whiche thynges do moue me to haue compassion of you, fearynge lest ye fal into some mysfortune, and into great pouertye without any remedye. And as for me, if I had nede, I trowe ye knowe very wel, that there be many, that wolde helpe me: in so moch that if they gaue me but euery man a littel, I shulde haue more than the degree of my liuing doth require. But as for your frendes, although they haue more to kepe them in their degre, than ye haue for yours: yet they loke, that ye shulde helpe theym. Than sayde Crytobulus, I haue nothyng to say agaynst you in this matter: But it is time for you to instruct me with some good preceptes, to thintent that I be not so miserable in dede, that ye may haue compassion on me with a good cause. Than sayde Socrates: Do not ye thynke your selfe, that ye do a very strange, and a meruailous thyng, that but a praty whyle ago, whan I sayde, that I was riche, ye lough at me, as though I knew not what riches mened,  
and

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and neuer stinted, til ye had put me to a rebuke, and made me to confesse, that I had not the hūdreth part of that, that ye haue, and nowe ye byd me to instructe you, and set my diligence, that ye be not poore in very dede. For I se wel good So. sayd Crisobulus, that ye haue in you the caste, to make a man ryche in dede, that is to make him haue plentie and abundaunce. And I truste, he that of a littel thing can make plentie and abundaunce, shall do it moche more lightlier of many great thynges.

**B**e ye not remembred of our comuning a praty while ago, whan I coude in no case contrary your sayinge, that to him that can not vse horses, horses be no goodes vnto hym, nor lande, nor shepe, nor money, nor nothing els, and yet of such thynges a man may get great profite and vantage? But as for me, how do ye thinke, that I can vse or order suche thynges, that had neuer none? But me thought, that although a man had nother money, nor goodes, yet there was a certaine science of gyding and ordning of an house. And what letteth you, that ye may not haue the same science? Loke what doth let a man to playe vpon recorders, if nother he had neuer none him selfe, nor borrowed none of no body: the selfe same impedes

pedimēt haue I in the ording of an hous.  
For I neuer had nother instrumētes, that  
is goodes and money of min owne, to lerne  
by it, nor there was neuer no bodye, that  
charged me with his goodes to ouerse the  
or to ordre them, except ye parauenture be  
disposed to do. But ye knowe well, that  
they that lerne first to play vpon an harpe,  
they spyll the harpe: So if I shulde nowe  
lerne on your household, howe to kepe an  
house, I am a ferde, lest I shulde destroye  
your house. I ha, ye go aboute very busly  
and redily to auoide, that ye wol not helpe  
me to beare, and susteyne with me parte of  
my busines. Be my faye, that do I not: I  
woll be glad with all myne harte, to shewe  
you all that euer I can. But I thinke this  
that if ye came to my house for some fyre,  
and I had none, if I brought you to an o-  
ther place, where ye mighte haue some, ye  
wolde not be displeased with me. And if  
ye came, and asked me water, and I hadde  
none, if I brought you into a place, where  
ye myghte drawe some, ye coud not blame  
me. And if ye wolde, that I shulde teache  
you musicke, if I did shew you other men,  
more expert in it, than I am my selfe, and  
that wolde be gladde and fayne to teache  
you, what coulde ye blame me, if I dyd so:  
I coulde

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I coude not do it with a good cause. Therfore I will shewe you, that these thynges, which ye desire so instatly of me, that there be other men more counnyng, and more experte in them than I am. And this I grāt you, that I haue hadde a greate mynde to knowe, which were the moste counnyng, and the mooste experte in all the citie. For whan I did sometyme considre, that in one worke, one busines, and one thyng doinge some waxed very pooze, and somme verye riche, I marueiled, and me thought, it was a thyng to be well consydered, howe that shuld be. And thus consideryng, I found, that this happened none otherwyse, then the thyng it selfe and reason wolde. For I sawe, that they that behaued them selves rashely in theyr busines, had damage and losse by it: and they, that with discretion, witte, and good aduise ment applied theyr busynes, broughte theyr mattiers to passe more quickly, more easly, and with more auantage. Of the whiche I thinke that ye may lerne, & so by the grace of god, come to be a very ryche man, with moche wyning and lucre. Howe by my feyth I wyl neuer let you be in reste, vntyl the tyme ye shewe afore these frēdes of yours, that ye speake of, that that ye haue promysed me.

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But what wolde ye saye, if I bydde shewe you some men, the which haue builded for verye moche money, vnprofitable houses, without any good cast, or any good commodity: and other that for lesse coste a great dele, haue made houses, lackynge nothing that longeth to an house, wyl ye not saye, that I do shewe you a point of a good order of an house? Yes verily sayde Critobulus. what if I shewe you next and accordeynge to the same, that some men haue moche householde stuffe, and of all sortes, and whā they haue nede of it, they can not vse it, but it is to seche, and they can not telle whether it be lost or saue leide vp? And for this cause they be wonderslye greued in their mindes, and vexed & trouble their seruantes and nothynge elles. And also other men, the whiche haue no more, but rather lesse, haue euery thing redy at hand, whan they haue nede of it. What shulde be the cause of it, gentil Socra. but that the one doth caste asyde euery thyng folysshelye, without any order: and the tother layth vp euery thyng in his place? There ye saide wel, said Soc. And he not only setteth euery thyng in his place, but also in suche a place as is mete and conuenient to set it in. And semeth, sayde Crito. that ye say, that

Is

this

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this also is a pointe of a good order of an hous. And what if I shew you, that in one place all the bondemen and seruantes be tyed faste, and yet they runne awaye often tymes: and in an other place they be losed, wyllyng to abyde and labour with al theyr hartes, wil ye not thinke this a good point of a house keeper, worthy to be looked vpon? Yes mary, said Critobulus, & very worthy to be looked vpon. And what if I shewe you housebande men, of the whiche some complayne and saye, that they dye for hunger, for all theyr housebandry, and somme that haue plentie, of al maner of thynges necessary, by the reason of their housebandrye. Ye mary, saide Critobulus, peradventure they bestowe their money & their goodes, not where they shuld, but in suche thynges as be hurtefull both to theym and to their houses. In dede there be some suche sayde Socra. but I do not speke of them, but of those, the which cal them selfe housebande men, & yet they can scant get their meate & their drinke. And what shulde be the cause of this gentill Soc. I will bringe you vnto them, said Soc. and whan ye se them, than shall ye lerne. Mary that wyl I, if that I can. Ye but first ye must proue your selfe, if ye shalbe able to knowe it, whan ye se the.

It

It cometh into my mynde nowe, that ye  
wold rise very yerly, and go a great way,  
to se enterludes played, & that ye wold in-  
treat me nedes to go with you, but ye nea-  
uer bad me to such a sight. Thā ye thinke,  
mine owne Soc. that I am worthye to be  
laughed to scorne of you. Ye but of your  
selfe moche more. But what if I do shewe  
you some men, the which by the reason of  
keping of horses, haue ben brought to ex-  
streme pouerte, & other, the which by the  
reason of it, haue made theym selues ryche  
men, and haue gotten so gret substāce, that  
they liue lyke lordes? I haue scene them,  
and I knowe them both, but I haue neuer  
the more vantage for that. The cause of it  
is, that ye beholde them lyke wyse, as ye  
loke vpon the plaiers of enterludes, not to  
thintēt that ye may be a poete, but for a pa-  
styme & a recreation. And parauēture ye do  
well in that, for ye be not mynded to be a  
poete, but where ye be cōpelled to kepe &  
fynde horses, wyl ye not iudge your selfe a  
foole, if ye go not about to studye a reme-  
dy, that ye be not ignoraunt in that behalfe,  
seinge that the selfe same thynges be good  
to the vse, and profitable to be solde? Your  
mynde is that I shuld breke horses? Noo  
by my faythe it, no more thanne if ye wold

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haue a good laborer, I wold giue you coun-  
sel to bringe him vp of a childe. But there  
be ages both of horses and of mē, the whic-  
che be immediately profitable, and do day-  
ly so growe, that they doo more good one  
daye than an other. Furthermore I canne  
shew you some mē, the which haue so vsed  
and ordred their wiues, that they comfort  
them and helpe them toward the increasing  
of their house: and some that haue suche  
wiues, the which destroy vtterly the hous,  
and so the moste parte of men haue. But  
who is to be blamed for this, the husebāde  
or the wyfe, good Socrates: A shepe, if  
it do not well, for the moste parte we doo  
blame the sheperde. And a horse most cō-  
monly, if he be skittishe, and do some disple-  
sure, we blame the breker. And a wyfe like  
wise, if her housebande teache her well, if  
she do not folowe it, she is parauenture to  
blame. But if he do not teache her, if she be  
rude, vnwomanly, and wytles, is not he to  
be blamed? Yes by my faith, sayde Crito.  
And seing that we be frendes, & may speke  
plainly betwene our selues, Is there euer  
any other wyse man, that ye trust & charge  
soo moche in your busines, as ye doo your  
wyfe? No forsoth, sayde he. And is there  
any, that ye commune lesse with, then ye do  
with

with her? No by my fayth, and if there be any, they be very fewe. Ye married her very yonge, whan she hadde nother sene nor harde moche of the worlde. Wherefore it wer more to be marueiled at, if she knew and did as she shuld, than if she dyd anysse. Critobu. They, the whiche ye saye, haue good wyues, haue they taught them so in dede? Socrates. It is a thing not to stand long vpon. For I wyl brynge you my wyfe Aspasia, the which shal shewe you all this better than I my selfe. But me thynketh, that a wife, beinge a good companion, and a good felowe to her husband in a house, is very necessary, and within a lyttel as moch worthe as the housebande. For commonly goodes & substance do come into the house by the labour and peine of the man, but the woman is she for the moste parte, that keepeth and bestoweth it, where nede is. And if these two thynges stande well together, and be well ordeyned, the houses doo increace, if not, they muste nedes decaye. Whereouer me thinketh, that I can shewe you in al sciences them, that do worke and labour, accordynge as they shoulde, if ye thynke that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherse them all good Socrates, sayde Critobulus? For it is nother possible for a

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man to haue workemen of all faculties, suche as shulde be, nor him selfe to be expert in al. But as for suche sciences, as be moste honourable, and maye become me well to occupie them, them I wolde ye dyd shewe me, and also those men, the whiche applye them selves vnto them. And ye of your side helpe to teache me, and further me in them as moche as ye can. Ye speake verye well friende Critobulus, sayde Socrates. For suche craftes, as be called handy craftes, they be verye abiecte and vile, and lyttel regarded and esteemed in cities and common welthes: For they do destroye the bodies of those, that do occupie them, whan they make them to sytte euermore at home, and to be fedde vppe alwaye in the shade, and some make them to stande all the daye starunge on the fyre. And whan the bodye is ones tender and feble, the stomake and spirite muste nedes ware a greate deale the weaker. And agayne, they haue smale leysure to sette thei mynde and dilygence to doo their friendes any good, nor also the common welthe. Wherfore such men seme to be but a small comforte to their friendes at a nede, nor no good menne to succoure thei countrey in tyme of ieoperdy. And for a suertie, in some cities and common welthes,

welthes, and specially suche as be dayly in warre, it is not lafull to neuer a cytesen to occupie no handy crafte. And what facultyes wyll ye counsaylle me to vse, gentille Socrates? Socrates. Let not vs thynke scorne, nor be ashamed to folowe the kyng of the Persis. For they saye, that he, supposinge the science of warre, and also of housebandry to be moste honourable, and also necessary among other faculties, doth regarde and exercyse theym wonderfly.

And whan Critobulus harde that, he said: Do ye thynke, that the kyng of Persia careth any thyng for housebandry? If we consyder it after this maner, saide Socrates, we shall paraduenture come to knowledge, whether he dothe or not. For euery manne graunteth, that he setteth sore his study vpon suche thynges, as long to war. For it is appoynted to euery lieutenaunte and lordes of the countreis vnderneath him, howe many men of armes, morispiques, billes, archers, and crossebowes, they shall haue redy in theyr wages, eyther to kepe his subiectes from rebellion for feare, or to kepe the countrey, if enemyes do inuade it. Besyde these, he layeth garisons in all the towres and castels, and there is a capitayn apointed to pay them truly theyr wages.

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and to se that there be no faulte in it. And the king causeth euery tweluemonth the musters to be made of al thē that be in his wages, and be apointed to be redy in harneis at any tyme, and so byngeth them all together, those reserued that be in garisōs into a place, that they cal the place of congregation. And suche as he nighē his manour and his dwellynge place, he ouerlooketh them him selfe. But they that dwel in farre countreys, he sendeth thither some that he trusteth best, to haue the ouersight of them. And those heedes, rulers, and capitaines, whether they haue many or fewe vnder them, if they bynge forth theyr full nombre, that is apointed vnto them, well harneised, and well horsed, and well furnished of al maner of thinges, he giueth very great praise and honour to the lieutenantes and to the lordes, and giueth them many great giftes and rewardes, so that they be riche for euer. But whan he fyndeth, that his lordes, his lieutenautes, and deputies haue no regarde to the capitaines of his souldiours, but catche and pul, and care but only for their owne vantage, he punisheth thē sore, he putteth thē out of their officis and setteth other in their stede. In doinge those thinges, there is no mā that douteth but

but that he applieth his minde and his studie  
by very sore to warre. But beside this, all  
the cuntry, that is therby, where he dwel  
leth, he rydeth aboute hym selfe, takynge  
hede and markynge howe it is tyllled and  
laboured. But whan a cuntry is so farre  
of, that he can not com to se it hym selfe, he  
sendeth them, that he trusteth best, to ouer  
se it. And whan he fyndeth, that his lieute  
nantes and deputies do kepe the cōntrey  
wel inhabited, the ground wel plowed and  
laboured, ful of such trees as the cuntry  
wyll beare, he promoteth them to the rule  
of more countres, he geueth thē gret pre  
sentes, and dothe them great honour. But  
whan he findeth the cōntrey desert and vn  
habited, the grounde vntilled and vnlabou  
red, by cause of their negligence, wronges  
doing, extorsions, & cruelties, he punisheth  
them, he putteth them out of their offices,  
and setteth other in their rowmes. In do  
ing these thinges, do ye thynke, that he set  
teth lesse his minde to haue his cōntre wel  
replenysshed, of dwellers, and well tyllled  
and laboured, then that souldiours shulde  
defende it well? Moreover, of the lieute  
nantes and deputies, that he hath, One  
man hath not the charge of two thinges at  
ones. For some of theym be appointed to

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haue the ouersyght of the housbande men and labourers, and to gether tythes and tributes of them. And there be other, that haue the ouersight of the souldiours, and of the garrisons. And if the lyeutenaunt of the garison do not his duete, in keping and defendyng the countrey, he that is the lieutenaunte of the husbande men and labourers, accuseth the tother lyeutenaunt, that they can not plye their worke for lacke of good defence. But if the lieutenaunte of the garyson dothe his duetie, and kepeth the coultre in peace, so that they may work at theyr pleasure, and the lieutenant of the housband men doth not se to the countrey, that it be well inhabited, and that the housbande menne applye theyr worke as they shulde, than the lieutenaunt of the garison accuseth him againe. For whan the housbande men do not labour well, the souldiours can scant gette vitayles, nor the king can haue his tribute. And in somme countreys of Persia, a great lord, that they cal Satrapa, occupieth the rowme of bothe lyeutenautes. Than spake Critobulus, and sayde: If the kyng dothe, as ye saye, he taketh as moche hede to housbandry, as he doth to warre. Soc. Moreover, in what so euer cuntrey he lieth, and where so euer he

he maketh his abydyng, he setteth his mynde to haue goodlye fayre gardeynes, that they call in theyr tongue Paradise, full of all maner of thynges, that the earthe bryngeth forth. And there he bydethe for the mooste parte, as longe as the tyme of the yere doth not let hym

Then by my faythe, sayde Critobulus, seeinge that he bideth there him selfe, he must nedes do his diligēce, that these gardeines maye be as fayre and as goodly as can be, well replenysshed with trees, and all maner of thynges, that the earth can brynge forth. And also some saye, good Critobulus, sayd Socrates, that whan the king gyueth any rewardes, that he calleth them fyrste, that haue behaued them selves manly in the warres, bycause it were to none effecte, to tyll and labour the grounde, except there were some, that shuld defend it. And nexte to them he calleth those, that haue provided, that the countrey shuld not be ydel, but well occupied and laboured, saying, that the valiant men of warre could not lyue, if the good labourers were not.

And they say, that Cyrus, the which hath ben a very famous, and an excellent kynge, sayd vpon a tyme vnto them, that he called vnto hym, to gyue them rewardes, that he  
hym

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hym selfe was well worthy to haue the rewarde of them bothe. For he sayde, that he was very good both to se the countrey well laboured, and also to kepe & defend it. Forsothe, sayde Critobulus, if Cyrus dyd say so, he dyd shew playnly, that he had as great pleasure, that the countrey shuld be well occupied, as to haue good me of war. Soc. By my faith, if Cyrus had lyued, he wold haue proued a very noble prince: and of that he shewed many great and euident tokens at dyuers tymes, and amonge the tother, whan he came forth agaynste his brother, to trye by battayle, who shuld be kyng. For they saye, that from Cyrus no man fled to the kyng, but many thousandes lefte the kyng to come and serue Cyrus. And me thinketh this is a great argument of a princis vertue, whan men do obey him with theyr owne good wyl, and be glad to abyde with hym in tyme of ieopardy. For Cyrus friendes stode fightyng about hym whiles he was yet alyue, and whan he was slayne, they fightyng most valiantly were slaine al beside him, excepte Arius, the which was set in the left wing. This gentyl Cyrus, whan Lysander came to him, to bringe him presentes fro the cites of Grece confederated vnto him, they saye, as Lysander

lander shewed hym selfe to a friende of his  
in the towne of Megara, that he receyued  
him with moch humanite, and amōg other  
thynges he shewed hym a gardeyne that  
was called the Paradis of Sardis. But whā  
Lysander began to maruaile at it, bycause  
the trees were so fayre and so egally sette,  
and the orders of the trees laye streyghte  
one agaynst an other, and made goodly an-  
gles & corners wel proportioned, and ma-  
ny swete & pleasaunt saouours came to their  
noses, whan they were walkynge, he won-  
drynge thervpon sayde thus: Forsoth Ly-  
rus, the gret beautifulnes of these thynges  
is a greate maruayle to me, but I wonder  
moch more of him, that hath measured and  
set them thus in order. Than Lyrus, whan  
he harde this, did reioyce and say: Al these  
that ye se, I haue measured them, and sette  
them in order, and I can shewe you some  
trees, that I haue set with myne owne hā-  
des. And Lysander when he had loked v-  
pon hym, & beholden his goodly apparail,  
and felt the good saour that came from it,  
and the estimable fayrenesse of his golden  
chaynes, his rrynges, and his precious sto-  
nes, sayde: What saye ye Lyrus, haue ye  
sette any of these with your owne handes?  
Than Lyrus answered. Do ye meruayle  
of

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of this *Lyfander*? By the faythe that I owe to god, whan I am well at ease, I neuer go to diner, vnto the time I haue done somewhat, eyther in feates of armes, or in some poynte of housebandry, tyl I sweate. Then, whan *Lyfander* herd this, he toke hym by the hande and sayd: We thynketh *Lyrus*, ye be fortunate not without a cause For ye be fortunate beinge a good man.

And this I reherse vnto you myne owne *Critobulus*, said *Socrates*, for this cause, that ye may se, that they that be ryche and fortunate, can not well kepe them frome housebandry. For it is suche an exercyse, and suche a busines, that a man maye haue pleasure in it, bothe to encrease and multiply his goodes, and also to exercyse the bodye soo, that it shall be able to doo all maner of thynges that belonge to an honeste manne to doo. For fyrste of all, the grounde bryngethe forth the all suche maner of thynges, that a manne is fed and nourished with, and it bryngeth forth the also suche thynges, that a man maye haue pleasure by it. Moreover, it gyueth vs all suche thynges, as we nede, to trymme and dresse the auters and ymages with all, and that with moste pleasaunte syghtes and saours. Furthermore, of meates necessary  
for

for mannes vse, somme it bryngethe by hit  
selfe, and some it nourisheth. For the craft  
of keepyng of sheepe is annexed to house-  
bandry, soo that we maye vse them at our  
owne pleasure. And though it gyuethe vs  
plentye of all maner<sup>l</sup> of thynges, yet it doth  
not suffre vs together them with softenes  
and tendernes, but vseth vs to be hard and  
stronge, in wynter by the reasonne of the  
colde, and in sommer by the reason of the  
heate. And as for them, the whiche do la-  
bour with their owne handes, it maketh  
theym bygge and myghtye, and they that  
occupy housebandrye but onely with ouer  
lokyng and takyng hede to other mens  
warkes, it quickeneth and maketh theym  
lyke men, makyng them to ryse yarely in  
the mornynge, and causyng them to walke  
a great waye. For bothe in the fieldes and  
also in the cities, euery thyng that a man  
dothe to any purpose, must nedes be done  
in tyme and in season. Moreover, if he wyl  
be a horsman, and defend his countre on  
horsebacke, a horse maye no where be bet-  
ter fedde than in the countreye. And if he  
wyl be a foteman, housebandrie maketh a  
man strong bodied, and causeth hym to ex-  
ercise him selfe goinge a huntynge, whan it  
gyueth lyghtly meate to the dogges, and  
the

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the grounde brin geth vp and nouryssheth  
wylde beastes. And the horses, and lyke  
wyse the dogges, thus holpen by the way  
of husbandry, do againe some seruice to the  
grounde. For the horse beareth hym yerly  
in the mornynge, that wyll se the grounde  
be not let alone vntilled & vntrymmed, and  
at nyght beareth hym home agayne, if he  
tary neuer so late. And the dogges kepe a  
ware wylde beastes, that they spyl not the  
frute, and kille the shepe, and make a man  
to be sure in a wyldernes. More ouer, hit  
comforteth and stirreth husband men to be  
bolde, and to stande manly to defend theyr  
coultre, seing it leaueth the frutes abroad  
in the playne to be vsurped of him that is  
stronger. And what facultie wyll make a  
man more apte to runne, to shote, and also  
to leape, than husbandrye? What science  
yeldeth more again to the that do labour?  
What sciēce receiueth him, that is studi-  
ous with greater pleasure, seing whan he  
cometh, it gyueth hym leaue to take what  
he wyll? Where shal a straunger be better  
welcomed to make hym good chere? wher  
shal a man haue better commoditie to kepe  
his winter with fire inoughe and hotte ba-  
thes? And where is more pleasant dwel-  
lynge for goodly waters, gentyll wyndes,  
and

of householde.

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and shadowe, than in the fieldes? Where  
maye a man make better feastis, and more  
triumphant bankettes? What other place  
do seruātes loue better? What other place  
doth a wife lyke more? Where do children  
desire more to be? Where be frendes bet-  
ter receyued, and gladder to be? For soth  
me thinketh it a maruailous thinge, if any  
honest man can fynde any substance, that he  
delyteth more in, or if he can fynde any oc-  
cupation outhere more pleasaunte than this  
is, or more profitable for his liuynge. And  
moreouer, the grounde teacheth men Ju-  
stice, if they haue the witte to lerne it. For  
they that do for it, and haue care for it, it  
rewardeth them, with farre moche more.  
And if they, that haue ben brought vppe in  
housebādry, by some sodeine chance of en-  
myes, they that be lordes of the countrey  
can not tyll the grounde, they may go into  
theyr enemyes countreis, seynge they haue  
ben well and hardly brought vp, and gette  
there as moche, if god be not against them,  
as wyll suffice them to lyue with. And it is  
often times more sure to seke for his liuing  
in time of warre, with weapons of warre,  
than with instrumentes of housebandrye.

Housebandry also teacheth men to helpe  
one an other. If we wyll go to warre, we

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must

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dape.

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must haue men, nor the grounde can not be laboured without menne. And therfore he that will be a good housband man, he must get him good lusty worke men, and willing to do after hym and obeye hym. And the selfe same thyng he must go about to bring to passe, that leadeth an army to fyghte agaynst his ennies, giuing great rewardes vnto them, that behaue the selves like good valiant men, and punyssh them that be stoborne, and wyl not be ordred. And he that is a good houseband, must as often tymes cal vpon his labourers, and comfort them, as the capitaine doth his souldiours. And bounde men haue as great nede to be comforted, and meinteined with good hope, as other fre men, ye z rather more, to thende they run not away, but be glad to bide stil. And surely he sayde very well, that called housbādry the mother and the nourice of al other sciences. For if housbandry doth stand well, all other sciences and facultyes do the better, But if the ground be barain, and can beare no fruite, all other sciences be almost spilled bothe by see and by land.

Whan Critobulus hadde harde this, he spake after this maner. He thiketh, good Socrat. ye speke very well in this matter. But ye knowe very wel, that the most part  
of

of such thinges, as long to housebandry, a man can not caste them afore hande. For oftentimes hayle stones, drought, or continuall rayne, myste, or vermyne, that eate vp the sede that is in the ground, do put vs beside our intent and purpose, if it were neuer so good. And shepe like wise, if they be in neuer so good pasture, there comethe a sickenes, that destroyeth them all. Socra. whan he hard that, sayd againe. I thought that ye knewe wel, that god is aboue al, as wel in housebandry, as he is in warre. We se, that they that wil make war, afore they begynne, they make their vowes, prayers, and sacryfices, desyringe to knowe, what is beste to do, and what is not beste. And thynke ye, that in those thynges, that long to housebandry, we shuld haue les recourse to god? Be ye sure of this, that good and honest men do worship almighty god with oblations, and praiers, for al theyr frutes, their oxen, theyr shepe, and theyr horses, and generally for all that they haue. Me thinketh good Socra. sayde Critobu. that ye speake very wel in this matter, whan ye byd to begin euery thyng with the trust of the helpe, and of the grace of god, seinge that god is aboue al thinges, as wel in war as in peace. And therfore we wil endenour

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vs to do so. But seinge your purpose was,  
to speake here of the ordryng of an house,  
the which ye haue left, and be entred into  
an other tale, endeuour your selfe to shew  
vs a lyttell more, what foloweth next. For  
nowe that I haue harde you say, that that  
ye haue spoken, me semeth I se moch bet-  
ter than afore, what a man muste do for to  
lyue. Wherefore Socrates sayde: But wil  
ye, that we reherse all that we haue spoken  
afore, and agreed in, to thentente that we  
maye, if we can, go forth in this matter,  
bringynge such thyng as we shal lyke wyse  
agree vpon? He thynketh that lyke wyse,  
as it wolde be a great pleasure, whan two  
men haue lente moneye one to an other, to  
agree vpon the rekenyng: So nowe in our  
comunication, vtterynge our myndes one  
to an other, if we myght gree in one tale.  
Wel than, said Socrates, we agreed vpon  
this, that the ordrynge of an house is the  
name of a science, and that semeth to be the  
science, to order and increace the house.  
And we toke the house for al a mā's posses-  
sions and goodes. And we sayd, that was  
truely the possession and goodes of a man,  
the which was profitable vnto hym for his  
lyuynge, and we founde all that profitable,  
that a man coude vse and order. And there-  
fore

fore we thought impossible for a manne, to lerne all maner of sciences. And as for all the handye craftes, we thought best to expelle them from vs, lyke wise as many cities and common welthes dyd. For they seme both to destroye a mannes body, and to breake a mannes hart and stomake. And hereof, we sayd, that this myght be an euidente token. For if the enemyes did inuade the countreyes, and one dyd set the husband men and the artificers a syde, diuided in two partes, and asked theym, whether they had leuer to come forth and pitch the fildes to fyght with their enemyes, or els to gyue vp the fildes, and kepe and defende the cities: They that haue ben vsed in the fildes and housebādry, would be glad to fyght, to deliuer the countrey. But on the tother syde, the artificers wolde doo that that they haue ben brought vp in, that is to sytte styll, neuer labourynge, nor neuer puttynge them selves in preace, nor in iopardy. Moreover we commended housebādry for a good exercise and a good occupation for a good and an honest man, by the whiche men may haue all that is necessarye for them. For it is an occupation very sone lerned, and very pleasant to be occupied in it: the which also maketh a mans

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body myghtye, stronge, well complextioned, and wel fauoured, his stomake and his spiryte to be alway lusty and redy to do for his friendes, and for his countreye.

Why Guse:  
bandye is  
moste hon-  
ourable.

Moreover, we iudged that it gaue men harte and courage to be valiant and hardy, seing the fruites, that the ground brought forth, lay abroad in the plaine, without trenches, bulwarke, or fortresses. And therefore that kynd of lyuinge semed to be most honorable, and beste esteemed in cities and common welthes, because it maketh good men, well disposed, and well mynded to do good for the common welthe.

Then sayde Critobulus, I am after my mynde sufficiently perswaded, that a man maye haue a very good, an honeste, and a pleasant lyuinge in occupieng housebandry. But where ye sayde, that ye knewe the cause, that some dyd so vse and occupy housebandrye, that they had by it plentye of all maner of thynges, that they neded: and some agayne, that so ordred them selves in it, that it auayled them nothing, these two thynges wolde I gladly here of you, to the intent we maye do that that is good, and eschewe that that is contrary.

But what if I do tel you swete Critobu. sayd Socrates, euen from the beginnyng,  
what

what communicatiō I had ones with a man,  
the whiche myghte be called truely and in  
dede a good honest man: That woulde I  
here very fayre, sayde Critobulus. For I  
my selfe do greatly delire, that I maye be  
worthy of that goodly name. Than wyll  
I tell you, howe I came fyrste to the con-  
sideration of this. For as touchyng good  
carpenters, good ioyners, good peynters,  
good ymagers, me thought that I myght  
in a littel time se and beholde their warkes  
most allowed and best accepted, that made  
them to be so called. But to thend I might  
se and beholde, howe they that hadde that  
goodly and honorable name of a good and  
an honeste man, dyd behaue them selves to  
be worthy of it, my mynde dydde coueyte  
greately to talke with one of theym. And  
fyrste of all for bycause good and honeste,  
wente to gether, whan so euer I sawe any  
goodly man, I drew to hym, and wente  
about to know of hym, if I myght se good  
and honest, in a goodly man. But it wolde  
not be. For me thoughte that I founde,  
that there were many with goodly bodies  
and fayre visages, that had but yuel dispos-  
sed and vngracious sowles.

Thā me thought it best, to enquere no fur-  
ther of goodli bodies, but to get me to one

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of them that were called good and honest men. And for bycause I harde, that Ischomachus was generally, bothe of men, women, citezins, and strangers, called and taken for a good honest man, me thoughte I coude do no better, than to proue howe I myghte commune with hym. And vppon a tyme, whan I sawe hym sitting in a porche of a churche, for bycause me thoughte he was at leyser, I came to hym, and sette me downe by him, and said: What is the cause good Ischomachus, that ye, which be wot to be euer more occupied, sytte here nowe after this maner, for I haue seene you for the most part, euermore doing somewhat, and lyghtly neuer ydell, except it were very lyttell? Nor ye shulde nowe haue seene me good Socrates, sayde he, syttyng after this maner, if I had not apointed with certaine straungers to tary here for them. And if ye were not here, where wolde ye haue bene, or howe wolde ye haue ben occupied, sayd I to hym? For I wold knowe of you very farne, what thyng ye do, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man? The good complection of your body sheweth well ynoughe, that ye byde not alwaye slouggynge at home. And than Ischomachus laughing at that that I said, what

what do ye, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man, and reioysing in his harte, as me thought by hym, sayd: I can not tell, if any man calleth me so, whan you and he talke of me, but whan I muste paye money, or for taxes, preastes, or subsidies, they calle me playnely by my name Ischomachus. And in dede good Socr. I do not alwaye byde at home, for my wife can order well inoughe suche thynges as I haue there. Yea but this wold I knowe of you very fayne, Dyd ye your selfe bring your wyfe to this: or els hadde her father and her mother brought her vp, sufficiently to ordre an house afore she came to you? Ischomachus. Howe coude she haue ben so, whan she was but fiftene yere old, whā I maryed her: and afore she hadde ben so negligently brought vp, that she hadde but very lyttell sene, very little harde, and very lytel spoken of the world. And I trowe ye wolde not thynke it sufficiente in her, if she coude do nothyng but spin and carde, and sette the hande maydens to worke. As for suche thynges, as concerne the lower partes of the bely, good Socrates, sayde he, she had ben very well broughte vp, the whiche is no smalle poynte of good bringyng vp, both in a man and in a woman.

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And dyd ye teache your wyfe al the remenant, sayd I, so that she is able to take hede of al maner of thynges? Yes, said he, but not afore I had made my praiers to all mighty god, desirynge him, that he wold gyue me the grace, to teache her so, and her to lerne that of me, that shuld be good & profitable to vs bothe. And dyd your wyfe make the selfe same prayer with you, sayde I? Yes mary, said Ischomachus, and it semed in a maner, that god dyd promyse euidently, and she likewise shewed with clere and manifeste tokens, that she wold very well regarde and take hede to that that she shulde be taught. For goddis sake good Ischomachus, sayde I, what dyd ye begynne to teache her first: for I had leauer here you tell me suche a thyng, than if ye shuld describe me a iustynge or a turnament, though it had ben neuer so triumphant: Mary I wyl tel you Socrates, sayd he. Whan we were ones so wel acquainted, & so familiar, that we talked together, I examined her after this maner. Tel me good bedfelow, did ye euer cast in your mid, for what cause I haue taken you, and your father & your mother deliuered you vnto me? I trowe ye knowe well inough, that I toke you not for nede, that I had of a bedfelow, to lye with

with me, for I myghte haue had inowe at my commaundemente. But whan I hadde consydered in my mynde, and your father and your mother lyke wyse, that it were well doone, to fynde out a good one, to be partetaker bothe of our howse, and of our chyldren, I chose you afore all other, and your father and mother lyke wyse chose me. Wherfore if hereafter god gyue vs the grace, that we maye haue chyldren to gether, we shall take counsaile, howe to brynge theym vppe and instructe theym in vertue. For it shall be for bothe oure profyttes to haue them, bothe to defende vs, and to helpe and nouryshe vs in our olde age. Nowe the house that we haue, is common to vs bothe. For all that euer I haue, I haue shewed you, and delyuered it vnto you to kepe for bothe our behoues: and ye lyke wise haue done the same. And ye may not cast in your mynde, whiche of vs both broughte more. But this ye muste knowe for a suertie, that loke whiche of vs twayne doth behaue hym selfe, and dothe beste in this felowshyppe, that he bryngeth more, and his parte is the better.

Then my wyfe, good Socrates, answered here vnto after this maner. wherin can I helpe you, said she: or wherin may my littel power

A good  
lesson for  
a wyfe.

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power do you any good? For truly my mother tolde me, that al to gether lay in your handes, and that it belonged vnto me, to be sobre and lyue in chastitie. Mary soo it is good wyfe, sayd I, and so my father tolde me to. But it is the poynt of a sobre housebande, and of a sobre wyfe, to do soo, that that the whiche they haue, may be wel ordered and gурded, and to encrease and get more to it, by some good and rightfule way. And what do ye see in me, sayde my wyfe, that I may encrease our house, if I do applye it? Mary, sayd I, if ye endeouour your self to do those thynges to the best of your power, the whiche both god willeth, that ye shulde do, and the lawe exhorteth you to it. And what thynges be those sayd she? Verily, sayd I, no small thynges, excepte ye thynke, that that Bee doth but a lyttell good, the which remaineth stil in the hіue, to ouer see the warkes, whan the other go abrode to gether floures. And forsooth me thynketh, that god almyghty hath sette to gether for many good causes and considerations, that goodlye couple, that is the housebande and the wyfe, to the intent that they shuld be moste profitable one to another in that good feloweshyp. Firste of all to the intent that mankynde do not decay & fayle,

why wed:  
focke was  
ordayned.

faile, this ioly couple lieth together and ingendreth chyl dren. Than agayne, by reason hereof, they bringe forth the chyl dren to helpe and succour them in theyr olde age. Moreover the maner and luyng of men, doth greatly dyffer from the lyfe of wylde beastes, the whiche be alway abroad in the fieldes. For it is mete for men to haue houses. Wherfore it is conueniente, that they, whiche wyl haue somewhat to bringe into theyr houses, haue menne with them to do those warkes, that muste nedes be done abroad in the fieldes. For tyllinge of the grounde, sowinge of the corne, setting of trees, and keepinge of beastes at grasse and pasture, be all done abroad. But agayne, it is nedefull, whan those frutes be conueyed into the hous, to ouer se and saue them, and to do al suche thinges as must be done at home. Babys and yonge children muste nedes be brought vppe within the house. Breade muste be baked, and the meate sod and dressed within the house. Also spynnyng, cardyng, and weauyng muste be doone within the house. And where that bothe those thynges, that must be done abroad, and those that be doone within the house do require care & diligence: me thinketh that god hath caused nature to shewe plainly,

A houses  
wyues of  
fyce.

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plainly, that a womā is borne to take hede of all suche thynges, as muste be doone at home. For he hath made mā of body, hart, and stomacke, strong and mighty, to suffre and endure here and cold, to iourney, and go a warfare. Wherfore god hath in a manner commaunded and charged hym with those thynges, that be done abrode out of the howse. He also remembrynge, that he hath ordeined the woman, to brynge vp yonge chyldren, he hath made her farre more tender in loue towarde her children, than the housebande. And where he hath ordeined, that the woman shuld kepe those thynges, that the man getteth and bringeth home to her, and he knowynge very well, that for to kepe a thyng sucrlie, it is not the worst pointe, to be doubtful and fearefull, he dealed to her a greate deale more feare, than he dyd to the man.

And he also perceyunge, that if any man doth hym wronge, the whiche labourethe and worketh without, he must defende him selfe, he distributed to the man a great deale more boldnes. And for because it beho- ueth, that both they do gyue and receyue, he hath gyuen them indifferently remem- brance and diligence, in so moche, that it is hard to discerne, whether kynd hath more  
of.

of them, either the man or the womanne.  
He hath also granted them indifferently, to  
refrayne them selves from such thinges, as  
is conuenient they do. And hath gyuen  
thē power and auctoritie, that loke in what  
thinge the either of them doth the better,  
he bringeth the more away with hym. But  
bicause the natures and the dispositions of  
them both, be not egally soo perfecte in all  
these thinges, they haue so moch the more  
nede the one of the other. And this couple  
is so moch the more profitable, the one to  
the tother, bycause that that the one lacketh,  
the tother hath. wherfor good wife,  
seyng we se that, which god hath ordeined  
for vs bothe, we muste enforce, and ende-  
uour our selues to do bothe our partes in  
the best wise. The lawe semeth to comfort  
vs and exhort vs to it, the which coupleth  
man and wyfe together. And lykewyse as  
god maketh them come to gether to gette  
chyl dren, So the lawe wyll haue them liue  
together, partakers one of an others go-  
des in good feloweshippe. Lyke wyse the  
lawe sheweth, and god commandeth, that it  
is beste for eche of them to do their parte.  
For it is more honestie for a womā to kepe  
her house, than to walke aboute. And it is  
more shame for a man to abyde sluggynge

at

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at home, than to apply his mynde to suche  
things as must be done abrode. But if a-  
ny man doth contrary to that that he is na-  
turally borne to, peradventure god wyll re-  
membre, that he breaketh his statutes and  
decrees, and wyll punishe hym, outhere for  
bicause he is negligēt in that that he shuld  
do, or els bycause he taketh vpon hym that  
that belongeth to the wyfe. ~~As~~ he thynketh  
also, that the maistres bee, that kepeth the  
hyue, dothe lykewyse, that that god hath  
ordeyned hir vnto. And what dothe the  
maystres bee, sayde she, wherby it may be  
likened to that that I must do? For bicause  
sayde he, it bydeth alwaye in the hyue, and  
wyll not suffre no bees to be ydle: and they  
that shuld worke without, she scdeth thē to  
their worke. And what so euer any of them  
bringeth home, she marketh, receyueth,  
and saueth it, vntyll the tyme come that it  
muste be occupied. And whan the time co-  
meth, that it muste be occupied, than she  
distributeth euery thyng accordyng as e-  
quitie requireth. And she causeth thē that  
do bide within, to weaue & make the faire  
hony comes after the best wise, and taketh  
hede to the yonge bees, that they be well  
fed & brought vp. But whan they be come  
to that age, and to that point, that they be  
able

A good en-  
sample  
of bees.

able to worke, she sendeth them out with one, the which they folowe as their gyde and capitayne. And must I do so to, sayde my wyfe? Ye forsoth sayd I: For ye must alwaye byde within the house, and those men, the which muste worke abroad, ye must sende them to it: and they that muste worke within, ye must commaunde them and be ouer them, to se the do it. And that that is brought in, ye must receiue it. And that, which muste be spent of it, ye must parte and deuide it. And that that remaineth, ye must ley it vp and kepe it safe, tyll time of nede. And beware, that, that which was apoynted to be spent in a twelue monthe, be not spent in a monthe. And whan the wol is brought in to you, ye must se, that it be carded and sponne, that clothe may be made of it. Also ye muste see, that the corne, which is brought in to you, be not so musty, and dusty, that it maye not be eaten. But one thyng specially aboue all other there is, that ye must be careful fore, and that shall gette you greate fauour and loue, that is, if any of our seruauntes hap to fal sicke, that ye endeouour your self, the beste that ye canne, not onely to cheryshe them, but also to helpe that they may haue theyr helth agayne. By my feyth, sayde

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my wyfe, it is a very gracious and a kynde dede. For whan they be ones holpen, and eased, they wil kunne vs very good thanke, and be the more louynge and feithfull vnto vs. And me thoughte, sayde Ischomachus, that it was an aunswere of a good and an honeste wyfe. And by the reason of this good prouision of this maystres bee, sayde I, all the tother beare so good loue and affection vnto her, that whan soo ever she goeth out of the hyue, there will none tary behynde, but all wayte vpon her.

Then my wyfe answered me. I do greatly meruaile, whether suche thynges, as ye saye the maystres bee dothe, doo not bee longe moche more to you than to me.

For my kepinge & departyng within, were but a lyttell worthe, excepte ye dyd your diligence, that somewhat myght by brought in. And my bryngyng in, sayde I, shulde auayle but a littel, excepte there were one, that kept and sauid that that I brought in.

Do ye not see, sayde I, howe euery man hath great pite of the, the which, they say, that their punishment is to poure water in to tubbes full of hooles, tyll they be full. And they pite them for nothing els, but because they seme to labour in vaine. By my sayth, sayd my wife, they be very miserable  
in

in dede, the whiche do so. There be other thynges, that belonge to you to take hede of, the which must nedes be very pleasante vnto you, as whan ye haue taken one in to your seruice, that canne neyther spyn nor carde, if ye teache her to doo it, it shall be twyse so moche more worthe vnto you.

And if ye haue a maide, the which is other negligent, or is not trewe of her handes, or that can not wayte, if ye make her diligent, trusty, and a good seruaunte, all shall be to your great profyte. And agayne, whan ye se your seruantes good and sobre felowes, and profytable for your house, ye muste do the good, and shewe them some gentilnes. But if there be any of the knauishe or forward, ye muste punishe theym. And this agayne shulde be moste pleasant of al, if ye coude make your selfe better than I, and make me as it were your seruaunt. And ye nede not feare, lest in proces of time, whan ye come to age, ye be lesse set by: but be ye sure of this, if ye be diligent, louynge, and tendable to me, our chyldren, and householde, the elder that ye waxe, the more honourable and better esteemed shall ye be.

For it is not the beautifulnesse, and goodly shappe, but the very vertue and goodnes that men regarde, and fauour.

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**I** remembre good Socra. that my fyrst  
comunication with her, was after this ma-  
ner. And dyd ye perceyue good Ischo-  
machus, sayd I, that by the reason of this,  
she was any thinge moued to be more dili-  
gente? Yes verily, sayde Ischomachus.  
And I sawe her vpo a time sore an angered  
with her selfe, and greatly ashamed, that  
whan I asked her a thyng, that I hadde  
brought home, she coulde not fette it me.  
And whan I sawe, that it greued her very  
sore, I said vnto her, Take neuer the more  
thought for the matter, if ye can not gyue  
me that that I aske you. For it is a token  
of pouerte in very dede, whā a man lacketh  
a thyng, that he can not haue. But this  
nede maye be suffered a great deale better,  
whan a man seketh a thyng and canne not  
fynde it, than if at the begynnyng he doth  
not seke for it, knowing that he hath it not.  
But as for this ye be not to be blamed, said  
I, but I my selfe, seinge I haue not apoin-  
ted you a place, where to leue euery thing,  
that ye myghte knowe, where ye shuld set  
it, and where to fette it agayne.

**The prais  
and profit  
of order.**

There is nothyng, good swete wife, so  
profitable and so goodlye amonge men, as  
is an order in euery thyng.

In playes and enterludes, where a great  
company

company of men is assembled to play theyr partes, if they shuld rashely do & say, what so euer fell into theyr braynes, it wolde be but a trouble and a busines, and no pleasure to beholde them. But whan they doo and speake euerye thyng in order, the audience hath a very greate pleasure bothe to beholde them, ye and also to here theym.

And lykewise an army of men swete wyfe, sayde I, that is out of order, and set out of good arraye, is a very great confusion, in daunger to be lightly ouercome of theyr enemies, and a very pituous and myserable sight to theyr frendes, as whan there is to gether in a plumpe, asses, fotemen, cartes, baggage, and menne of armes. And howe shulde they go forwarde, whan they do let one an other? He that gothe, letteth hym that runneth, he that runneth, distourbeth hym that standeth still, the cart letteth the mā of armes, the asse, the cart, the baggage the foteman. And if they shulde come to the point, that they must fight, howe coude they fight being in that taking? For whan they be faine, by the reson of their il order, to flee theyr owne companye, that letteth them, howe coude they, thus fleing, ouercome them, that set vpon them in good order of battayle, and well weaponed? But

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the armye, that is well ordred and kept in good array, is a very pleasant sight to their friendes, and greuous to theyr enemyes. what frend is there, but that he wil haue a very great pleasure, to se the fotemen marche forward in good order and arraye? what is that man, but he wil marueil, whan he beholdeth a great numbze of men of armes rydyng in good arraye and order? And what ennemy wil not be aferd, whan he seeth moris pikes, billes, m<sup>c</sup> of armes, crossbowes, and also archers, the which folowe their capitaynes in good arraye and order of battayle? And also whan they marche forward in good array, if they be neuer so many thousandes, yet they walke as peacefully as though there wer but one mā alone. And what maketh a galey, well furnished with men, feareful to the ennies, and pleasant to beholde vnto friendes, but that it goth so swyftly? And what maketh them that be in it, that they do not trouble one another, but that they do sytte in order, kepe & make signes in order, lye downe in order, ryse in order, drawe the oores in order? And as for confusion & misorder, me thynketh it is lyke, as if a man of the countrey shuld put together on a hepe, otes, wheate barley, and pease: and whan he had nede to occupie

occupie any of them, he shulde be fayne to trye it out, and put it by it selfe agayne.

Wherfore swete wife, ye shall lightly eschewe suche confusyon, yf ye put to your good wil, to set in good order that that we haue, & take to you that that ye haue nede of, and spare not: and giue to me that that I call for graciously. And let vs seke out and prepare a handsome place to sette euery thyng in, accordyng as euery thyng requireth. And whan we haue sette it there, let vs shewe it the seruaunte, that he maye fetch it, and lay it vp agayne.

And thus we shall knowe, what we haue saued, & what we haue losse. For the place it selfe shall lacke that that it shulde haue. And the sight wil serche out that that hath nede of helpe, and make vs to know anone, where lyeth euery thyng, so that we shall not be to seke, whan we haue nede of it.

I remembre good Socrates, that vpon a tyme I wente a bourde a shyppe of Phenicia, where I beheld the goodlyest order and the mooste perfecte that euer I sawe. I considered, howe great aboundaunce of implimentes was in that smalle vessel.

There were many oeres, and many other thynges made of wodde: with the whiche they brynge the shype into, and out of the

The orden  
of a Shyp.

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hauen. What a sorte of shrowdes, halfers, cables, lines, & other takeling was there? With howe many ingins of warre both to defend it selfe, and to greue an enemye, was it armed? What a syghte of armour and weapons of the men, cary they about with them. Moreover, they cary with them moche vitayle and other necessities, that mē vse at home in theyr houses. Besyde al this it was laded, with suche stouffe and goodes, as the shyppe mayster getteth by the cariage therof. And all this geare that I speke of, was stowed in so litel a rowme, that a farre greater place wolde not haue receyued it, if it shulde haue ben remoued. And I marked howe euery thyng was so well sette in good order, that no one thyng dyd let an other, nor hadde no nede to be longe sought fore: Nor were not so scattered, and so yll compacte, that a man shulde tary longe for it, whan he shulde occupy it quickly. And he that wayted vppon the Patrone of the shyppe, that is to saye, he that standeth in the fore part of the shyp, I perceyued, that he had euery place so well in his mynde, that though he were not there, he wolde tell you redily where euery thyng laye none otherwyse thanne he that is lerned, can telle howe many letters

go to this worde, Socrates, and in what place euery letter is sette. Moreover I sawe hym, whan he was serchyng and castyng in his mynde, howe many thynges a shyppe hath nede of: Than I maruailling, wher on he mused and studied, asked hym what he meant. I consider and caste aforehand good man, quod he, if any thing shulde chaunce, howe and in what redines euery thyng lyeth in his shippe, whether any thyng lyeth out of the place, or if euery thyng be not trymmed to the purpose.

For it is no tyme, whan god sendeth vs a storme on the sea, to be seking that that we nede of, nor to bringe forth that that is not hansom and well trymmed. For god thretneth and punisheth them that be ydell and negligent. And we may be glad, if he doo not destroye vs, whan we do our duetie.

And if he saueth them that vse gret labour and diligence, they oughte to thanke hym greatly. Wherfore whan I perceyued and sawe that goodly and perfect order, I said vnto my wyfe, that it shuld be great slouth and negligence vnto vs, if they, whiche be but in lyttell shippes and smalle vesselles, fynde feete places to stowe euery thyng in, that they carye with them, And though they be soore shaken and troubled, and co-

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tinually

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tinually in gret feare, yet they kepe a good order. And we that haue so goodly places and a house standyng stedfastelye on the lande, coule not fynde places meete and conuenient for to sette euerye thyng in, howe moche oughte we to be blamed of lewdenes and small wysedome?

We haue sufficiently spoken, howe profitable it is to set al the implimentes of the house in good ordre, and to set euery thing in suche a redines, in places mete therfore, that it maye be easye to fynd and come by, whan nede requireth. But howe goodly a thinge is it to se fewtes of all a mannes apparell, lyenge by it selfe, keuerlettes, and couinterpointes by the selfe, shetes, towels, and all napye ware by them selves, pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of the ketchyn by the selfe, al that longeth to the table by it selfe, and so lyke wyse of all other thynges, that long to an house, wher at he that is vnwyse, & knoweth not good order, wyll laughe. And whether it be so or not, my swete wife, we may lightly proue without great cost, and with small labour.

And ye must not trouble youre selfe, as though it were an harde thing to fynd one, that coude lerne the places, and remembre where to set euery thyng. For we knowe well,

well, that in the citie there is a thousande tymes more ware thanne we haue: but yet what so euer seruant ye wyl commande, to go and bye you somewhat, in the market, he wyl not stand styll, as though he coude not tell what to do, but by the reason that he remembreth, where he hath sene of it, he goth thither streyghte waye, and fetchethe it.

And surely ther is none other cause of this said I, but that there is a place determined where one shall haue it. But if one seketh a man, the whiche seketh hym to, may fortune he wyl often tymes be sooner werye than he can fynde hym. And of this lyke wyse, there is none other cause, but that there is no place apointed, where the tone shuld tary for the tother. As for settinge in order of the household stuffe, and of the vse of it, I remembre I spake vnto her after this maner. And howe thought ye by your wyfe, good Ischomachus, sayde I?

Whether did she obey you in that thyng, that ye taught her so busily? Ischo. What shuld I say, but that she promised to apply her mynde vnto it. And me thought verily by her countinaunce, she was very gladde, that where afore she was in greate doubte and perplexitie, she had found a good way in it, and besought me, that I wolde make  
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an order of euery thing, as I had said vnto her, as soone as was possible. And what order dyd you shewe her good Ischomachus sayde I : Ischo. What order shuld I shewe her but this : First me thoughte best to shewe her, what a house properlye was ordeyned fore. For it is not ordeyned to be gorgeously pointed with diuers faire pictures, but it is builded for this purpose and consideration, that it shulde be a profitable vessel for those thynges, that shulde be in it. wherfore in a maner it biddeth the dwellers, to lay vp euery thyng, where it is moste mete to put it. The inner priuey chambre, because it standeth strongeste of al, loketh for to haue the iewels, plate, and all suche thynges as be mooste precious. The drye places loke for the wheate, The colde for the wyne. And bryght places do desyre suche workes and thynges, as require lightsomnes. Moreover, I shewed her, howe parlors and dininge places, wel trymmed and dressed, for men to eate and drynke in, in sommer shulde be colde, and in winter hotte. And I shewed her, howe all the situation of the house was very moche southwarde, wherby it may be clerely vnderstande, that in winter the sonne lighteth well fauourdly vpon it, and in sommer there

there is goodly shadowe in it. Further, I shewed her the nourcery and the womens lodgyng, diuided from the mens lodgyng, lest there came out any thyng amyss, and our seruantes shulde get theym chyldren without our consentment. For they that be good, if they haue chyldren throughe our permissiō, they wil loue vs the better. And they that be noughte, if they come ones to couple with a woman, they wyl fynde the more wayes, and the more better shyfte to fulfyll their yngratiousnes. And after we had spoken thus sayde he, we went and deuided the householde stuffe, by sewtes and sortes after this maner. Fyrst we dyd put to gether all maner of thynges longyng to sacrifices. Nexte to that the good wyues apparell, both for holydayes and workyng dayes, and afterwarde the good mannes apparell, bothe for the holy dayes, and also for warre, Clothes for mens chambres and for the nourcery, mennes shoues, and womens shoues. Than we appoynted out the instrumentes, that belonge to spynnyng and cardinge, and suche as perteyne to the bake house, to the kechin, to the bathe, and to the boultryng house. We did seperate a sonder those thynges, that shulde be occupied alwaye, from those that be occupied,  
but

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but at diner and souper. And we dyd sepe-  
rate that that we shuld spend in a monthes  
space, and that that was apointed to serue  
vs a twelue monthe. For so it is the better  
knowne, in what maner it is brought to an  
ende. And after we hadde seperated all the  
householde stuffe in sewtis and sortes, we  
dyd set euery thinge in a place conuenient.  
Afterwarde all the instrumentes that our  
seruauntes muste occupy dayly, as for the  
backehouse, for the kytchin, for spynninge  
and cardynge, and other lyke, we dydde  
shewe them the place, where they shoulde  
put them agayn, and than delyuered them,  
and bade theym kepe them safe. And as  
for suche thynges, as shulde be occupied  
but seldome, or vpon holy dayes, or whan  
there came any straungers vnto vs, or at  
certayne other times, in certayne busynes,  
we delyuered theym vnto a womanne, that  
we made the keper of our store house, and  
shewed her the place, where they shoulde  
be sette. And whanne we had made a re-  
kenynge vnto her of all, and also written e-  
uery thyng, we bade her, that she shulde  
deliuer them forth as time and nede requir-  
ed, and that she shulde remembre well, to  
whom she deliuered any thyng. And whan  
she receiued it agayne, that she shuld lay it  
vppe,

vypppe, where she had it before. And to be  
keper of our storehouse, we apointed her,  
that semed vnto vs more sobre and tempe-  
rate in eatynge, drinking, and sleping, and  
that she coude very wel refrain the cōpany  
of men, and that semed also to haue a verye  
good remembrance, and that wold beware  
to be founde in a faute throughe her negli-  
gence, lest she shulde displease vs with it,  
and seke the meane to do that that shoulde  
please vs, that she myghte be prayesed and  
rewarded for it. More ouer we taughte  
her to haue a good wyl towarde vs, and to  
loue vs, For bycause that whan there was  
any thyng happened, that made vs ioyful  
and gladde, we made her partakar of it,  
and if we were sorowfull and heuy for any  
matter, we called her, and shewed her the  
same. Furthermore we taughte her to set  
her good wyl and her good mynde, to en-  
crease our house, teaching her the way and  
the maner howe. And if any thyng for-  
tuned well to vs, we gaue her parte of it.  
Also we taught her to be iust and trewe in  
her busynes, and to esteeme and set more by  
them, that were good and rightefull, than  
by them that were false and vntrewe: And  
we shewed her, howe they lyued in more  
welthe and more libertie, thanne they that  
were

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were false and vntrustye . And so thus we  
dyd sette her in the rowme . And at the  
laste good Socrates, sayde he, I sayde vn-  
to my wyfe, that all this shulde auayle no-  
thyng, excepte she toke diligent hede, that  
euery thyng might remaine styl in good or-  
der. I taught her also howe in comon wel-  
thes, and in good cities, that were wel ru-  
led and ordred, it was not inoughe for the  
citezens and dwellers, to haue good lawes  
made vnto them, excepte that they besyde  
chose mē to haue the ouersight of the same  
lawes, the whose duetie shuld be to se, that  
they the whiche do well, and accordynge  
to the lawe, maye be preysed, and he that  
doth the contrary, to be punysshed . And  
soo I bad my wyfe, that she shulde thynke  
her selfe to be, as if it were the ouerseer of  
the lawes within our house : and that she  
shulde, whan she thought best, ouer se the  
stuffe, vessel, and implementes of our hous  
none otherwise thanne the capitaine of a  
garison ouerseeth and proueth the souldy-  
ours, howe euery thyng standeth: or like  
wyse as the Senate and the counsell of A-  
thenes ouerseeth, & maketh a proffe bothe  
of the men of armes, and also of theyr hor-  
ses. And that she shulde preise & rewarde  
hym, that were worthy, to her power, as  
if she

A good  
wyues  
duetie.

if she were a queene, And blame, ye and pynish she hym, that doth deserue it. Besyde al this I taught her, that she shulde not be displeased, if I did put her to more busines & charged her with mo thynges to be done in the house, than any seruaunt I had, she wynged her, that pientis and couenant seruantes haue no more of their maisters goodes, but as moche as they deliuer them, to do theyr maisters seruice with al, or to bestowe it in their behalfe, or to kepe it for them: and they may occupye none of it to theyr owne vse, excepte their maisters do grue it them. But he that is the mayster, he hath al, and maye vse euery thing at his owne pleasure, wherfore he that hath most profytte by it, if his goodes be saufe, hath moste losse, if they be losse or perished. I shewed her, it wer reason he shuld be most dilygent, and take best hede about it. Than sayde I. Good Ischomachus, whanne your wyfe harde this, howe dyd she take it? what wyll ye haue any more of it good Socrates, but that she sayd: I knowe her not wel, if I thought it dyd greue her, that I shoulde teache her, to take hede to her goodes and substaunce. For it shulde haue ben more greuous vnto me a greate deale, sayd she, if ye had bade me to take no hede

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to my goodes, than to byd me to be diligēt  
about that that is mine owne. For me thin-  
keth, that like wise, as it is naturally giuen  
to a good womā, rather to be diligēt about  
her owne chyldren, thanne not to care for  
them, Lyke wyse it is more pleasure for an  
honest womanne to take hede to her owne  
goodes, than to set nought by them.

And whan I harde, sayd Socrates, that  
his wife gaue him such an answer, I said,  
By my faith I schomuchus, ye tell me of a  
ioly and a manly stomacke of a womanne:  
Ye, sayde he, ye shall here me telle you o-  
ther thynges yet, that wy! well shewe her  
good lustye harte, that whan she had hard  
but ones speake of it, streyght way she did  
after me in it. Soc. I pray you tel me that,  
for surely I haue more pleasure a greatte  
deale, to lerne the vertue of a woman aloue,  
than if Zenis the excellent peynter shuld  
shewe me the pycture and portrature of a  
fayre woman. Than sayde I schom. whan  
I had sene her vppon a tyme, that she had  
peynted her face with a certayne oyntmēt,  
that she might seme whitter than she was,  
and with an other oyntment, that she might  
seme redder thā she was in very dede, and  
that she had a peyre of high shoues on her  
feete, to make her seme taller woman than  
she

She was, I sayde vnto her: Tell me, good wyfe, whether wolde ye iuge me worthier to be beloued, if our goodes and substance nowe beinge common one to an other, if I shulde shewe you that that I haue in very dede, & make nother more of it nor no lesse than it is in very dede, and kepte nothyng priuey from you: or if I went about to deceiue you, saying I had more than I haue, and shewinge you false money, cheines of brasse in stede of golde, counterfeyt precious stones, red in the stede of scarlet, false purple in the stede of pure and good?

Than she answered streyghte waye. God forbid ye shuld be such one: For if ye were suche one, I coude not fynde in myne hart to loue you. I wyll tell you wyfe: We be come together, to thintent to haue plesure of the body one of an other, at the lest men say so: Whether than, seinge I must giue you my body to vse with you, were I better to be beloued after your iugement, if I studied and went about to make my bodye seme the lustier, the strōger, the better coloured, the better cōplectioned, and shuld noynt my face with certaine oyntmentes, and soo shewe me vnto you, and lye with you, and gyue you these oyntmentes to se and to handle, in the stede of my colour,

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and of myne owne face? Forsoth, sayd she,  
I shuld neuer haue more pleasure in hand-  
lynge any oyntemente in the stede of your  
face, nor delyte more in thyng counterfe-  
ted, thā in your very eies and natural face.  
Thynke lyke wyse by me good wyse, sayd  
Ischomachus, that I haue no more plea-  
sure in oyntmentes, thanne I haue in your  
owne natural body and face. And like wise  
as god hath made hoises, to haue pleasure  
with maares, bulles with kyne, rammes  
with ewes, so lyke wise menne doo thynke  
that body moste pleāsant, that is pure. And  
as for suche wyles and deceytes, they may  
paraduenture begyle straungers, soo that  
they shall neuer be spyed, but they that be  
dayly conuersant together, they shal light-  
ly perceiue, if the one go about to deceiue  
the tother. For they wyll be spyed, either  
whan they ryse out of theyr bedde, before  
they make them redy, or whan they sweate  
or whan they wepe, or whan they washe &  
bath them. Socra. And I praye you, sayd  
I, what an aunswere made she to it. Ischo.  
What, sayde I? by my feyth she went ne-  
uer sens aboute no such matters, but she  
wed her selfe alway pure with as good cō-  
lines as myght be. And she asked me, whe-  
ther I coude giue her any counsayle, howe  
she

she shulde be fayrer in dede, and not onely  
spere so. And than I gaue her counsaile,  
that she shulde not sit styll lyke a slaue or a  
bondeman, but go aboute the house lyke a  
maystres, and se howe the workes of the  
house wente forwarde: sometymes to the  
weauinge women, both to teche them that  
she can do better than they, & also to marke  
who doth better or worse: some tymes to  
loke vpon her that baketh the bread: some  
tymes to loke vpon her, that kepeth the  
store house, to se her set vp and mette that  
that she weaueth: sometimes to bestir her  
selfe, lokinge if euery thyng be sette vp in  
his place. For I rekened, that this shulde  
be bothe a way, to take hede to the house,  
and also shulde serue for a good walke. Also  
so I said, it were a good exercise to washe,  
to boulte, to bake, to shake keuerlettes,  
hangynges, tappessary ware, and to sette  
them vp agayne in their place. For I said.  
if she did somwhat to exercise her selfe, she  
shoulde haue the more luste to her meate,  
she shulde be the more helthy, and get bet-  
ter fauored colour in very dede. And also  
the sight of the maistres, being more clen-  
lier and far better apparayled, and setting  
her hand to worke, and in a maner struiyng  
with her seruantes, who shal do most, is a

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greate comforte vnto them, that be vnder  
her, specially whan it lieth in them, either  
to do her pleasure in doing of theyr worke  
with a good wyll, or to be compelled to do  
it againste theyr wylls. But they that al-  
way do stande styl like quenes in their ma-  
iestie, they wil be onely iuged of those wo-  
men that be triumphantly arayed, the whi-  
che do deceyue them. And now, sayd he,  
good Socrates be ye sure, she lyueth euen  
as I haue taughte her, and as I tell you.  
Soc. Than sayde I. Good Ischomachus,  
me thinketh ye haue sufficiētly spoken tou-  
chyng the behauour of your wyfe, and of  
you, to the greate prayse of you bothe: but  
now I pray you, tel me your owne dedes,  
that bothe ye may reioyce in tellyng suche  
thynges, the whiche do get you so good a  
name. And whan I haue harde and lerned  
the workes & dedes of a good honest man,  
I may giue you such thākes as ye deserue,  
and accordyng to my power. By my faith  
sayde Ischomachus, I wyll be gladd to  
tell you all, what so euer I doo, to the en-  
tent ye may correcte me, if ye thynke I do  
not wel in some thyng. Socrates. Ye but  
tel me, howe coude I correcte you, seinge  
that ye be come to this poynt, to be a good  
honest man, specially whan I am the man,  
that

that is takē for a trifier, that occupieth him selfe in nothyng, but in measuryng of the aire: And that that is a very soze rebuke, and a token of most great folly, I am called a poore man. And I assure you, that name wold haue troubled me very soze, if I had not met the tother daye by chance one Nicias hors, and sene moch people that came after to beholde him, and harde very moch talkyng of hym. And in very dede I came to the horsekeeper and asked him, whether the horse had moch money or not. And he loked vpon me, as though I had ben mad, to aske hym suche a piuishe question, and said: Howe shuld a horse haue any money? And so I turned me euen backe again, whā I harde, it was lafull for a poore horse to be good, if he had a good fre harte and stomacke with him. And therfore I praye you, seinge it is lyke wise laful for a poore man to be good, that ye wyll tell me your maner of lyuyng to the vttermost poynte, to the intent that whan ye haue tolde me, I maye endeouour my selfe to lerne it, & from this day forward to begyn to folowe you and do after you. For that maye be called a very good day, on the whiche a man be- ginneth to be good and vertuous. I know well ye iest with me good Socrates, sayde

The name  
of pouerte

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Ischomachus: But yet I wyll tell you as far forth as I canne, the holle course of my lyfe, the whiche I purpose to folowe styl tyll the laste daye of my lyfe.

After that I had wel perceiued, that excepte a man knoweth what is to be done, & wyll sette and applye his mynde and dylygence to performe the same, god granteth no man to do well. And vnto them, that be both wise and diligent, god sendeth welth and good fortune. Wherfore fyrste of all I began to honour and worshype god, and to call vpon hym with my prayers, that he wold vouchesafe to send me the grace, that I might haue my helth, strength of body, honour in my citie, good wyll of my frendes, to returne home agayn safe from war fare, with the increase of my ryches and goodes. Socra. And whan I harde that, I said: And care ye so moch to waxe riche, seinge that whan ye be ryche, ye haue the more trouble, in studienge howe to order and kepe your goodes? Yes mary, sayde Ischo. I haue no small care of that that ye aske me. For me thynketh it is great pleasure both to worshippe god honorably, and to helpe my frendes, if they be in nede, and to se that the citie be not depriued of the ornamentes of ryches, as moche as lyeth in me

in me. Socrat. By my fayth, that that ye say good Ischomachus, is good and also very honorable, and longynge to a man of great power and substaunce. Ischo. It muste nedes be thus. For there be somme men, the whiche can not liue but they must be holpen of other men. And there be many agayne, that reken it sufficient, if they canne get that, that is necessary for them.

But those that wyll not onely order and gyde theyr houses, but also haue so greate abonndaunce, that they do both honour to the citie, and also helpe and ease their frendes: why shulde not they be called and taken for men of profound wisdom, of gret power, and of stout stomacke? Socrates. Surely there be many of vs, sayde I, that may well praise suche maner of men. But for goddis sake tell me euen fro the place, where ye beganne, howe ye go aboute to maintein your helth, and also the strength of your body, howe it may be laful, to retourne honourably home agayn safe from the warre. For as touchynge the encreasyng of goodes, we shall here of it afterwarde sufficiently. But me thynketh, said Isc. that these thynges be linked together, and come one after an other. For whan a man hath meate and drynke sufficiently, if

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he do labour well, he shall haue his helthe the better and the longer. And he that is well exercised in war, he shall retorne home safe agayne, and with more honour. And he that is diligent, and doth not coker him selfe, nor gyue him selfe to slouth and idelnes, he is the more lykely to encrease his house. Socra. Forsoth good Isch. I grant you all this euen hytherto, where ye saye, that he that laboureth, taketh payne, vseth diligence, and exerciseth him selfe, cometh the rather to goodes. But what labour ye vse to meinteine a good complection, and to get you strength, and howe also ye exercise your selfe for the war, and howe ye studye to get so moch substance and goodes, that ye may bothe helpe your frendes, and make the citie more honorable and stronger by it, that wold I very fayne here. Verily good Socrates sayde Ischoma. I ryse in the mornynge out of my bed so yerely, that if I wold speke with any mā, I shall be sure to fynde hym yet within. And if I haue any thyng ado in the citie, I go about it, & take it for a walke. And if I haue no matter of great importance to do within the citie, my page bryngeth my horse afore in to the fieldes, and so I take the way to my ground for a walke, better perauenture, than if I  
dyd

byd walke in the galleries and walking places of the citie. And whan I come to my ground, and if my tenants be eyther settinge of trees, or tylling or renewing the ground, or sowing, or caryenge of the fruite, I beholde howe euerye thyng is done, and caste in my mynd, how I might do it better. And afterwarde for the most parte, I gette me a horsebacke, and ride as nere as I can, as though I were in warre constrained to do the same, wherfore I do not spare nother croked wayes, nor no shroude goinges vp, no ditches, waters, hedges, nor trenches, takyng hede for al that, as nere as can be possible, that in this doing, I do not maime my horse. And whā I haue thus doone, the page leadeth the horse trottyng home agayne, and caryeth home with him into the cite, out of the cūstrey, that that we haue nede of. And so thā I get me home againe, somtimes walkyng, and sometyme runnyng. Then I washe my handes, and so go to dyner good Soc. the which is ordeyned betwene bothe, soo that I abyde al the daye nother voyde nor yet to full. Socrates. By my trouth good Ischomachus, ye do these thynges wonders pleasauntely. For in dede to vse and occupye at ones all maner of thynges,
   
 that

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that be ordeined for helth, for strength, for exercise of war, for study and conueiaunce, howe to get goodes, and all in one time, me thinketh a maruailous thynge. For ye do shewe euident tokens, that ye applie your mynde well and trewely to al this. For we se you commonly, thanked be god, for the moste parte helthfull, stronge and lustye. More ouer we know, that ye be called one of the beste horse men, and one of the richest men of the citie. Ischomachus. And though I thus do, as ye haue harde, yet cannot I eschewe detraction: yet thought paraduenture that I wolde haue sayde, I am therfore called a good honeste manne. Soc. And forsoth so I was aboute to say good Ischoma. But this I thought fyrste to enquire of you, whether ye do studye & set your mynde, howe to answer these detractours, and speake in a cause, whether it be your owne or an other mans, or to iuge it, if nede be. Isch. Thinke you that I do not sufficiently my part in this matter, if I thynke by my good dedes to defende my selfe, and do no wronge, and as moche as I may helpe and do pleasure to many men? And moreouer, thinke ye that it is not wel done to accuse suche men, that do wronge bothe to priuate men, and also to the citie, & that

that wyl do no man, good? Socrat. But yet if ye set your mynde to suche thynges, I praye you shewe it me? Ischomachus. Forsoth I neuer stint, but am alway exercisinge my selfe in retoricke and eloquence. For whan I here one of my seruantes complayne on an other, or answer in his owne cause, I seke to knowe the truthe. Again, I either blame some man to my frendes, or els prayse him, or els I go about to bringe at one some men of mine acquaintance, that be at variaunce, endeuoringe my selfe, to shewe them, howe it is more for theyr profytte to be fryendes, than yll wyllers and enemies. And before the hygh rulers I vse both to commend and defende hym, that is oppressed by wronge and iniury, and before the lordes of the counsaile I accuse hym, that I see promoted vnworthily, and I prayse that that is done by counsaile and deliberation, and the contrarye I discommende. But I am now broughte to this point, that either it behoueth me to suffre, or to punishe. Socra. Of whome I praye the Ischo? For that do not I yet knowe. Ischoma. Mary of my wyfe. Soc. But in what maner do ye stryue in your quarel? Ischom. Whan she happeth to say trouth, it is very gentilly done. But whan she lyeth,

Stryffe  
with a  
wyfe.

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eth, and erreth in her wordes, forsoth So.  
I can not reforme her. Soc. May chance  
that, that is false, ye can not make it trewe.  
But peradventure ye wold begon Ischo.  
and I do let you. Truly I wolde be lothe  
to tary you, if it please you to go hense.  
Ischomachus. Ho in good faythe, good  
Socrates, I wil not go hence til the court  
breake vp. Socrates. By my faythe, ye  
be right circumspect, and take good hede,  
that ye lose not that honorable name, to be  
called a good honest man. For where para  
adventure ye haue many great businesses &  
thynges to take hede to, that require gret  
dyligence: yet bycause ye promysed those  
strangers to tary for them here, ye wil not  
deceiue them. Ischo. As for those my bu  
sinesses that ye speke of Socrates, I haue  
prouided for them wel inough. For I haue  
in the fieldes my baillies of housbandry, &  
my deputies. Socr. But sins we be fall in  
this communication, I pray you Ischoma  
chus tell me, whan ye haue nede of a good  
bayllye, doo ye inquere, whether there be  
any that canne do it welle, and so fynde the  
meane to haue him: lyke wyse as whan ye  
haue nede of a carpenter, whan ye knowe  
where is one, that can good skylle therof,  
ye wil desire to haue him, oz els do ye make  
your

your baylies and deputies your selfe, and  
teache them to do it? By my fayth, I in-  
deuour me to teache and instruct them my  
selfe. For he that shulde be sufficient to do  
those thynges for me in myne absencethat,  
he is put to, what nedeth he to knowe any  
thyng, but that that I doo my selfe? For  
if I be sufficient to sette men a worke, and  
commaunde theym what they shall doo, I  
trow I am able to teach an other man that  
that I can do my selfe. Socrat. Than he  
that is a baily of housbādry must owe you  
good wyl and fauour, and also to al yours,  
if he being present, shalbe sufficient in your  
absence. For without loue and good wyl,  
what good can a baylye do, if he be neuer  
so experte and connyng? By my faythe,  
said I schomachus, neuer a whit: but as for  
me, the fyrste thyng that euer I do, I go  
aboute to teache him to loue me and mine,  
and to loue my goodes. And I pray you  
for goddis sake tell me, howe do ye teache  
him to loue you and yours, who so euer he  
be that ye do this benefitte vnto? By my  
fayth, sayd he, by gentil and liberal dealing,  
whan god sendeth me plenty of any maner  
thinge. Socra. This ye meane I trowe,  
that they, the whiche be eased and holpe  
by your goodes or money, do loue you and  
desyre

Howe to  
prepare a  
Baylie of  
Housbā-  
dry.

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desire that ye maye do well. Surely good Socrates, sayd he, that is the beste instrument that can be, to allure and get a mans good wyl withal. Socrat. And whan he beareth you good wyl, good Ischomach. is he therfore sufficient to be a baylye? For we may see, that al men loue theym selves, and yet through slouggishenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the which for the moste parte they coueyt right moch to haue, as goodes. Ischo. Ye but whan I wol make suche men as loue me, my bailies and ouer seers of my busynes, I instructe and monishe them before, howe they shuld ouer se euery thyng diligently. Socrate. Can ye brynge that to passe? For sothe me thinketh it is vnykely, that any man coude be taught, to gide an other mans busines a ryght. Isch. In verry dede it is impossible good Socrates, to instruct and teach euery man diligently to do it. Socr. And who be they, that ye think mete to be taught & instructed? For that I desyre very greatly to knowe. Ischo. Firste of all they that can not refrain them selves from drunkennes, are excluded from this care. For drunkennes bringeth in with it forgetfulness of all maner of thynges, that a man shulde do. Soc. Whether than is it impossyble, but onely

only in them, that can not refrayne them  
from drunkennes, to make them diligente,  
or be there any other besyde? Yes mary  
sayde Ischomachus, and they also that can  
not refrayne them selfe from slepe. Socra.  
Be there any mo besyde those? He thin-  
keth, sayde Ischomachus, that they, the  
whiche do sette theyr myndes soore to the  
pleasure of the fleshe, that it is impossible  
to teache them to haue more mynde to any  
thyng than to that: for they can find no-  
ther hope nor study more pleasant to them  
then of theyr louers. And whanne they  
haue any thyng to do, it is harde to ima-  
gyne a sorer punishmente, than that is to  
them to be kept from them they be in loue  
with. Therefore I let suche maner of men  
go, nor neuer go about to teache theym to  
be more diligent. Socr. Ye but they, that  
do set theyr mynd soore to lucre, be not they  
apte to be taught that diligence, the which  
shuld be vsed and occupied in your ground?  
Ischoma. Yes mary they, there can none  
be soner brought to this diligence. For ye  
nede no more but only to shewe them, that  
diligence is very profitable. Wherfore if  
I chaunce to haue suche one, I commende  
hym moch. Soc. And as for other men,  
the whiche do refrayne them frome suche  
F things

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things as ye do command, and haue a me-  
tely good mynde towarde lucre, howe do  
ye teche them to be as diligent as ye wold  
haue them? Ischoma. Many very well  
good Socr. For whan I se them diligent,  
I do bothe praysse and rewarde them. And  
agayne, whanne I see them neglygent and  
rechelesse, I both do and say al that euer I  
can to anger and vexe them with. Socrat.  
Ye but Ischomachus, sauig your tale, that  
is of them, that be all redy instructed to be  
diligent: tell me this, touching the instruc-  
tion of them, whether it be possyble for a  
man, that is naturally neglygent, to make  
other dyligent? Ischo. No by my faith,  
no more than he that hath no skil in musike  
can make other men musicians. For it is  
harde for a scholer to lerne that thing wel,  
that his maister teacheth yl. And it is hard  
for a seruaunte to vse any diligence, whan  
his mayster gyueth hym exaample of ne-  
gligence. And shortely to speake and in ge-  
neral, I do not remembre that euer I hard,  
that any yll mayster had any good seruans-  
tes. Many this haue I sene, that a good  
diligente mayster by his chastysing of dull  
heded seruauntes, hath lyghtly instructed  
them. But he that wyll go aboute to make  
other dyligent in theyr worke, he most spe-  
cially

Diligente  
maysters  
make good  
seruauntes.

cially oughte to be a prouident and a ware  
man, and ouer se and marke theyr woꝝkes.  
And whan there is any thyng wel and dis  
lygently done, he muste cunne hym greate  
thanke that dyd it, and he muste not stycke  
to punyssh hym sharpely, according as he  
deserueth, that is negligēt in his busynes.  
And forsoth me thiketh to this purpose it  
is a ryght goodly aunswere, that the Per  
sian made. For whan the kynge of Perse  
asked hym, rydyng vppon a ryghte fayre  
horse, what thyng did sonest make an horse  
fat, he said his maisters eies. Some thinke  
lyke wise good Socrates, by al other thin  
ges, that the maisters eie mooste specially  
maketh them to be in farre better plite.

Socrat. But whan ye haue tolde and shew  
wed him very wel, and with great instance,  
that he muste take hede to suche thynges,  
as ye wyll haue hym, and that he is verye  
dyligent, is he than mete to be your bayly  
or stewarde, or els must he lerne somwhat  
besyde to make hym fyt for that purpose?  
Ischomachus. No I wis man. For it be  
houeth hym yet to lerne, what he must do,  
and whan, and howe he shall order eue  
ry thyng. For elles what auayleth a bai  
lye or a stewarde more withoute this, than  
a phisycion, the whiche nyghte and daye,

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early and late taketh hede to a sycke man,  
and yet he woteth not what is profytable  
for the same pacient. Socrat. And whan  
he knoweth what is to be doone, shall he  
nede any thyng elles, or shall he than be a  
perfecte bayly or stewarde? Ischo. He  
thynketh, that he shulde lerne also to rule  
the worke men. Socra. And do ye teache  
your bayly or stewarde to be able to rule?  
I go about it at leaste, said Ischom. Soc.  
And I pray you for goddis sake, howe do  
ye teache men to haue the science to rule &  
commande? Ischoma. Very easily good  
Socra. in so moch, that I thynke ye shall  
laugh at it, whan ye here it. Soc. Forsoth  
good Isch. sayd I, it is no matter to laugh  
at, but he deserueth and ought rather to be  
hyghly lauded, that hath the wit to teache  
that. For he that can teache men howe to  
rule, he can also make them maisters, and  
he that can make them maisters, can make  
thē princelyke and able to be kinges. Isch.  
Surely al maner of beastes, good Socrat.  
do lerne to obey by the reason of these two  
thinges, that is to say, whan they do strue  
and will not be obedyente, they be puny-  
shed: and whan they do quickly that that  
a man byddeth them, they be cherished and  
well intreated. Coltes and yonge horses  
lerne

lerne to obeye they: brekers and tamers :  
For whan they do obeye theym, they haue  
somwhat done to the for it, that is to their  
pleasure and ease : But whan they wyl not  
obey, they beate and hâdel them very sore  
z roughly for it, vntyll the time they serue  
the breker at his wyll . And yonge spay-  
nels lyke wise, the whiche be worse than  
men a greate deale, for lacke of reason, and  
for lacke of speche, yet they lerne to ren-  
about, to fetche or cary, to go into the wa-  
ter after the same maner . For whan they  
obey, they haue somwhat giuen them, that  
they haue nede of, and whan they wyl not,  
nor care not for it, they be punished. But  
as for men they maye be well perswaded z  
brought to obedience, if a man wyl shewe  
them, howe it shall be for they: profyte, if  
they do obey. Neuertheles vnto bondmen  
and vile persons, that way that is vsed and  
occupied towards beastes, wyl very well  
induce them for to lerne to obeye . For if  
ye do somwhat for they: bealye, and make  
them fare well, ye shall gette very moche  
done of them. But ioly stomackes and no-  
ble natures be mooste moued and styred  
with prayse . For there be some natures,  
that doo desyre as moche laude and prayse  
as other do meate and drynke . And whan

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I haue taught him, that I wil make my bal-  
ly or my stewarde, suche thinges, the whi-  
che whan I do them my sylfe, me thynketh  
I shall make men more obedient vnto me,  
I do ioyne this vnto it besyde. For as tou-  
chynge hosen and shoues, and other ray-  
ment, the whiche I muste gyue my labou-  
rers, I make them not alyke. For there be  
some better and some worse: to the entent  
that the best workmē may haue the preemi-  
nēce to haue the better, and the worst may  
be giuen to the worst. For me thynketh,  
it greueth good seruauntes verye soore,  
whā they se that the worke that they haue  
done, and how those haue euen as moch as  
they, that wyl not labour nor take peyne,  
whā it behoueth to do it. wherfore nother  
I my selfe wyl not suffre, that they that be  
worst, and they that be beste, shulde be ser-  
ued al a lyke. And whan I se that my bay-  
lies and deputies doth gyue the moste and  
the best to them that do beste, I do preyse  
him for it. But and I se him prefer any man  
afore other, because of his flatterynge, or  
for some other puiishe cause, I do not suf-  
fre it soo to passe, but I blame and rebuke  
him greatly therfore, and I goo about to  
teache hym also, that that, the whiche he  
doth, is not for his profite nother. Socrat.  
And

And whan he is sufficient thus to rule and  
guyde, good Yschomachus, so that he can  
make them to obey hym, do ye thynke that  
bayly perfecte on euery syde, or hathe he  
nede of any other thyng elles? Yes mary,  
sayde Yschomachus, for it behoueth hym  
to kepe his hādes clene from his maisters  
goodes, and beware that he steale nothing  
therof. For if he, that hath the frutes in  
his handes, wold be so bolde to conuey so  
moche out of the waye, that that, whiche  
remayned were not suffycyente to mayn-  
teyne the worke and fynde the labourers,  
what profytte shulde we haue by his baye-  
lyshyppe, and by his dilygence? Socrates,  
And do you in dede take vpo you to teach  
them that iustice and ryghtefulnes? Yes  
mary, sayd Yschomachus: but I fynd that  
euery manne dothe not obeye and folowe  
this teachyng and instruction of myne.

Neuerthelesse I take here a pece of Dra-  
cons lawes, and here a piece of Solons, &  
so endeouour my selfe to brynge my seruans  
to folowe iustyce. For me thynketh  
that these men haue made many lawes to  
teache men iustice. For they haue written,  
that he muste be punished that steleth, and  
he that robbeth must be put in prison & put  
to death. Wherfore it may be clerely sene,

S.iiii.

that

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Persians  
lawes.

that they haue writtē those thinges to the  
intente that they, the whiche do gette any  
goodes foule and shamefully, contrary to  
reason and equitie, shuld haue no vantage  
nor no profit by it. And whan I haue this  
do, I brynge in beside somme lawes of the  
kyng of Perse, to make my seruantes to  
deale rightfully in that they be put to. For  
as touchinge Dracons and Solons lawes,  
they do no more but punyshe them that do  
amysse, but the kyng of Perses lawes doo  
not onely punyshe them that do wronge &  
vniustly, but also thei do them good that be  
rightfull and deale iustly. Wherby it appe-  
reth, that many, the whiche be very coue-  
tous, and care not what they do, soo that  
they may wyn, when they se that they, the  
whiche be ryghtefull and good, waxe ry-  
cher than they, the whiche doo other men  
wronge, they continue and prospere well  
in this that they do no man wronge. And  
whan I perceyue, that any of theym, vnto  
the which I haue beene good and shewed  
pleasure vnto them, wyll not leaue, but go  
about styll to do wronge and deale vniuste-  
ly, than whan I perceyue that he is past al  
remedy, I put hym out of his rounge, and  
wyll not let hym occupre it no more. But  
whan I perceyue, that any of them setteth  
his

his mynde and courage to be good, a iuste  
and a true seruant, and doth it not so moch  
bycause they thynke to haue somme vaun-  
tage by it, but for the desire that they haue  
to please me, & to be praised of me, though  
they be bounde men, I vse them as fre me,  
and for their ioly freharte, I do not onely  
promote them in goodes and ryches, but  
also prayse and commende theym as good  
and honeste men. For me thynketh that an  
honest manne, that is desyrus of honour,  
doth differ in this poynte from a couetous  
man, that for prayse and honour wyl take  
payne and put hym selfe in ieopardy, whan  
it is nedefull: and yet kepe him selfe cleane  
from foule lucre. And thus whan ye haue  
ones ingendred and fastned this affection  
in a man, that he oweth you good wyl, and  
bereth you good loue and fauour, and that  
ye haue brought hym to this point, that he  
wyl applie his mynde and diligence to do  
euen as ye wold your selfe, and beside that  
ye haue gotten him the science, howe eue-  
ry worke that is done shal be most profita-  
ble, and made him also sufficient and able to  
rule, and that he will beside this bring and  
shewe you the fruites of the grounde none  
other wise thanne ye wolde to your selfe:  
whether nedeth be any thyng els or not, I

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will speke no more, for me thynketh, that  
such a man shuld be a very good and a pro-  
fitable stuarde and deputie. Socra. But  
I praye you good Ischomachus, doo not  
leau behynde that parte, whiche we haue  
so lyghtly runne ouer. And what is that  
sayd Ischomachus? Socrates. Mary ye  
sayde, that the greatestt poynte of all was  
to lerne howe euery thyng shulde be done,  
to the ende that profyte therby shulde ryse  
vnto vs, for other wyse ye sayde, that dily-  
gence coulde auayle nothyng, excepte a  
man knewe what and howe to do. Ischo.  
Doe ye byd me to teache you the science of  
housbandry? Forsoth it is it, sayde I, that  
maketh them riche, that can wel occupy it:  
and they that can not, thoughe they take  
neuer so moch peine, they liue wretchedly.  
Ischo. Now than frst of all ye shall here  
howe gentill a science it is. For sernge it is  
moste profitable and pleasante to occupie,  
most goodlyest, best beloued of god and of  
men, and besyde that moste easye to lerne,  
howe shulde it nat be a ientyll science? For  
we call al these beaustis gentyll, the whiche  
be goodly, great, and profitable, and be not  
fierse but tame among men. Socra. But  
me thynketh, good Ischoma. that I haue  
very wel perceyued, that where ye sayde,  
howe

howe a man muste teache a stewarde, and a deputy, and that ye taught him to owe you good loue and good wyll, and lyke wyse, that ye went about to make hym diligente, able to rule, and also ryghtfull: but where ye sayde, that he, whiche wil be diligent in dede in husbādry, must lerne what is to be done, howe, and in what season, me thynketh we haue ouer passed it some what to quickly and to negligently. Lyke wyse as if ye sayd, that he, the which wil write that that a man speaketh, and rede that that is written, muste knowe his letters. For he that did here this, hath harde nothing els, but that he must lerne to know his letters. But whan he perceyueth, that he is neuer the nerer to knowe what letters do meane. And nowe lyke wise I beleue verye well, that he, the which wil vse diligence in husbandry, must lerne to know wel husbādry, but though I beleue and knowe that well, yet am I neuer the wyser howe to occupy husbandry. And if I were euen now determined to fal to housbandry, I wold thinke I were lyke a physicion, the whiche gothe about and loketh vpon sicke mē, yet can he not tel what is good for them. And therefore to thend I be not suche one, teche me the very point and cast of husbandry. For  
sothe

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sofh good Socrates, sayde he, it is not by this as by other craftes and sciences, that he which lerneth them must be a long time about them, and bestowe moch peyne and labour in them, er he can do any thyng to get his liuing by. Housebandry is nothing so harde to lerne: for ye shall lerne it euen anone loking vpon the labourers, and partly by heryng speke of it, so that if ye wyl ye may teach it vnto other. And truely other artificers and craftes mē do hide and kepe priuey to theym selfe the beste poyntes of theyr sciences, the good housebande men, he that setteth trees best, he wyl haue very great pleasure, if any man beholde hym, and he that soweth after the same maner. And if ye aske him of any thing that is wel wroughte, I am sure he wyl neuer kepe from you, howe he dyd it. And soo good Socrates, housebandry techeth them that be conuersant in it to be of gentyll maners and disposition. Socrates. Forsothe this is a good begynnyng, and nowe I haue harde you tell this moch, it is vnpossible to stoppe me from inqueringe of you further therof. And therefore scinge ye saye it is a thyng so ease to lerne, do the rather shewe it me. For it is noo shame to you to teache that that is easye: but it is rather a greate shame

name to me, if I can it not, specially whan it is so profytable.

And therfore I wyl shewe vnto you first of all sayde Ischomachus, that that whyche is the diffused point of al housbandry, as they say, whiche dispute of it moste exactly in wordes, and in dede occupie it neuer a whit, is nothyng harde at all. For they say, that he that wyl be a good housbande man, muste fyrste knowe the nature of the grounde. Socrates. Indede they seme to say wel: For he that doth not know what the grounde wyl brynge forth, I trowe he can not knowe nother what seede he shuld sowe, nor what trees is best to set. Ischomachus. And therfore a man maye knowe by an other mannes grounde, what it wyl brynge forth, and what it will not, when he seeth both the frutes and also the trees. And whan he knoweth it ones, it is not for his profytte to stryue agaynste god and nature. For if a man doth either sow or sette that that he hath nede of, he is neuer the nerer to haue that that is necessary for him, except the grounde do in a maner delite and take pleasure both to bring it forth and to norishe it. But if he can not knowe the goodnes and fertilitie of the grounde by reason of the idelnes and negligence of them

Knowledge  
of good  
grounde.

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them that haue it in hande: he shal oftenty-  
mes better knowe it by some grounde that  
is not farre from it, than of the neighbour  
that dwelleth by it. And althoughe the  
grounde be vntilled and vnlaboured, yet it  
sheweth his owne nature. For that ground,  
that bereth good wild fruites and wedes,  
wyl bring forth, if it be taken hede to, and  
well tyllled, other good fruites and herbes  
as wel as them. So that they that be not al  
of the beste seene in housebandry, can well  
discerne the nature of the grounde. So-  
crates. Forsothe good Ischomachus, I  
maye be bolde to byde by this, that a man  
nedeth not to absteyne from housebandry,  
for feare lest he knowe not the nature of  
the grounde. For I do remembre, that fis-  
hers, whiche be alwayes occupied in the  
see, the whiche comme not to beholde the  
grounde howe it is, nor walke not fayre &  
softly, but runne euē through it, whan they  
se the fruites on the grounde, they wil not  
sticke to shewe their opiniō of the ground,  
whiche is good, and whiche is badde, and  
preyse this, and dispreyse that. And I se  
they wyl be communynge often times with  
men, that can very good skylle in houseban-  
dry, and shewe them verye many thynges  
touchynge a good ground. Ischomachus.

Where

Where than will ye haue me to begyn good Socrates to declare housbādry vnto you, lest I reherse somwhat that ye know already, for I perceyue, ye be right expert therin: Socrates. This me thynketh bothe profitable and a very gret plesure to lerne, and also it belongeth specially to a philosopher to knowe, howe I myght, if I wold, by tyllinge and labouryng the grounde, haue very moch plenti of barley, rie, whete, and other corne. Ischomachus. This I trowe ye knowe well inoughe, that falowynge and stirryng of the grounde, helpeth very moche to the sowynge: Socrates.

Forsoth so I do. Ischoma. And what if we shulde begynne to falowe and plowe the ground in winter: Soc. That were nought.

For than the erthe shulde be all slimy. Isc.

And what thynke ye in somer: Socrates.

Than it wolde be to harde to plough it.

Ischomachus. Well than we must nedes begin in the sprynge of the yere. Socr. Ye

may, for then it is mooste lykely, that the grounde openneth and spredeth his owne strength and vertue aboute, whan it is falowed and tilled in that tyme. Ischo. Yea and besidethat good Socrates, the yonge wibes turned vp so downe at that tyme, be as good to the ground as any doungyng:

and

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and they be not yet come to that strength,  
that the sede of them caste adowne canne  
growe vp agayne. And I trowe ye knowe  
this wel inough, that if the falowinge, and  
the tyllinge of the grounde shuld be good,  
the grounde must be cleane kepte and deli-  
uered from wides, and wel fauourdly hea-  
ted and warmed of the son. So. Me thin-  
keth in very dede it shuld be so. Isch. And  
do ye thinke, that that cā be better brought  
to passe by any other meane, thanne if the  
grounde be often times stirred in the soma-  
mer? Socrates. I knowe very well, that  
the wides can neuer better wyther awaye  
and drye vp, nor the ground be better hea-  
ted throughte the heate of the sonne, than  
if the grounde be ploughed and stirred in  
the middes of sommer, and in the myddes  
of the daye. And if any man doo falowe, or  
digge the grounde with his owne handes,  
is it not clere inough, that he also muste se-  
perate asonder the wides fro the ground,  
and caste the wides abroad, that they may  
drye vp, and turne vp so downe and styre the  
grounde, that the soorenes and the rawe  
watrishenes of it may be warmed and wel  
dried vp? Ischom. Than ye se well good  
Socra. howe we be bothe in one opinion,  
touchynge falowinge and styrring of the  
grounde.

ground. Socrates. So me thynketh: And touchyng sowing, haue ye any other knowlege or opinion, but that is the season to sowe, the whiche bothe men of olde antiquitie, approuinge it by experience, and al they, that be nowe, takynge it of them, do iudge it beste of all? For whan the sommer is ones past, and Septembre cometh in, all men that be in the worlde do loke vpon almyghty god, that whan it shal be his pleasure to sende somme rayne, and make the grounde wete and moystie, that they maie fall to sowynge euen as he commandeth it.

Socrates. And forsoth good Ischoma. all the men in the worlde haue determined by one assente, that they wyl not sowe, whan the ground is drye. And it is clere to euery man, that they take great losses and damages, that wyl goo aboute to sowe afore god byddeth them. Ischomachus. Than in these thinges all we men do agre. Socr. For in that that god teacheth, it foloweth, that euery man agreeth in it: As for a similitude, Euery man thynketh best to weare good furred and well lyned gowes in winter, if he be able, & also to make good fire, if he haue wodde. Ischomachus. Yea but there be many, the whiche do vary in this, touchinge sowinge, whether it be beste to

¶

sowe

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sowe in the beginnynge, in the myddes, or  
at the latter ende. Socra. And god dothe  
not sende euery yere of one like temperat-  
nes of wether. For some tymes it is beste  
to sowe in the begynnynge, some tymes in  
the myddes, some tymes at the latter end.  
Ischomachus. But what thynke ye beste  
gentyll Socrates, whanne so euer a manne  
hathe chosen his sowynge tyme, or euer  
more in this tyme, or nowe in this and now  
in that, whether is it beste to sowe moche  
seede or lyttel? Socrates. We thinkethe  
best of al good Ischomachus, to distribute  
the seede, well, full, and trewelye. For I  
suppose it is a greatte deale better, to take  
corne inough euer more, than some tymes  
to moche and some tymes to lyttell. And  
in this poynt also good Socrates sayd he,  
you beinge the lerner, do agre with me the  
teacher, and you haue shewed your opiniō  
afore me. Socrates. But what of that said  
I, for in the castynge of the seede, there is  
moche counnyng? Ischomachus. In any  
case good Socrates, lette vs loke vppon  
that. For we knowe well, that it muste be  
caste with a mannes hande. Socrat. For  
soth I haue sene it done so. Ischomachus.  
But some can cast it euen, and som can not.  
Socrates. Wel than it lackethe nothyng  
els

of householde.

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els but to exercise the hande, as harpers  
and luters do, that it may folowe the mind.  
Ischomachus. It is very well sayde: But  
what if the grounde be thinner or grosser?  
Socrates. what meane you by that? Do ye  
not take the thynner for the weaker, and  
the grosser for the stronger? Ischomachus.  
That same meane I. Socrates. And this  
wolde I fayne knowe of you, whether ye  
wyl gyue as moche seede to the tunc as to  
the tother, or elles whiche of them wil ye  
gyue more vnto? Ischo. In the wyne that  
is stronge, me thinketh it behoueth to put  
the more water, and the man that is stron-  
ger must beare the gretter burthen, if ther  
be any thyng to be caried, and some men  
are fed and nourished with sklender fare,  
and the same herin muste be obserued. So-  
crates. Thynke you not that the grounde  
waxeth stronger, if a mā do put more fruit  
in it, likewise as moles and horses do waxe  
stronger with cariage, that wolde I desire  
you to teache me. whan Ischomachus hard  
that, he sayd: What Socrates, ye test with  
me. But yet, sayde he, take this for a very  
suretye, that whan a manne hath sown  
any seede in the grounde, loke whanne the  
grounde hath moste comforte of the ayre  
with wete and moystenes, if the corne bee

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grene

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grene newly ryfen out of the erthe, if he  
fyrre and turne it in ageyne, it is as if it  
were a sustinaunce to the ground, and get-  
teth as moche strength by it, as if it hadde  
ben donged. But if ye suffre the grounde  
continually to bring forth fruite of the fede  
it is harde for a weake grounde to brynge  
forthe moche fruite styll, lyke wyse as it is  
harde for a weake sowe to gyue lucke and  
sustinance to many pigges, and kepe them  
fat and in good plite whan they waxe gret.  
Socrates. Ye say good Ischomac. that ye  
must sowe lesse fede on a weaker grounde.  
Ischo. So I do indede good Socra. and  
ye also did graunt it vnto me a lyttel afore,  
whan ye said, that ye thought that the wea-  
kest shuld be least charged. Socr. But for  
what reason good Ischomac. do ye make  
diches in the corne fieldes? Ischoma. Ye  
wotte well, that in wynter are many show-  
ers. Socra. what therof? Ischomachus.  
Many therof chaunce many hurtes: for a  
gret part of the fælde is surrounded with  
water, and the corne covered in mud, and  
the rootes of moche of the corne ar worne  
and washed away with the water, and fur-  
ther often times by reason of the great a-  
bundance of water, there cometh moche  
wides and other harlotry, that suppresseth  
and

and distroyeth the corne. Socrates. It is lyke inough, that all this shuld be. Ischo. And thynke ye than, that the corne beinge in that takynge, hath not nede to be holper? Socra. Yes mary. Ischomachus. Than if the corne be couered with mud, what shal we do to helpe it? Socrates. Mary ease the grounde and make it lyghter. Ischo. But what if the rootes be waxed thyn and almoste worne away? Socrates. Than ye muste cast to more erthe, that it maye take roote and growe agayne. Ischoma. But what if the wibes and other harlotry suck vppe the moysture from the corne, lyke as the drone bees, the whiche beinge theym selves vnprofitable, do robbe away and eate vp the bees vitayles, that they had set vp for to worke with? Socrates. Mary the wibes and harlotrye muste be pluckte and cut away, lyke wyse as the drone bees are voided out of the hives. Ischoma. Thinke you than that we do not make the dyches & sloughes in the fieldes for a good cause? Socrates. Forsothe so it is, but I thynke nowe in my mynde good Ischoma. what a thyng it is to brynge in similitudes & likenesses. For ye haue moued me more a gret deale, and made me more displeased against these wibes, whan ye spake of the droone bees,

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bees, than whan ye spake of the wibes the  
selves. But now after this sayde I, har=  
uest season wyl come, wherfore I pray you  
tell me, if ye haue any thyng to teache me  
in this matter. Ischoma. So I wyl if ye  
do not shewe your selfe, that ye know it as  
well as I. This ones ye know, that the  
corne must alway be reaped. Socr. What  
els? Ischom. whether than must ye stand  
to reape it with the wynde, or agaynste the  
wynde? Socrates. Not agaynste the wind,  
for it wolde be a great payne, as I thinke,  
both for the eies and also for the hādes, to  
reape agaynste the cares blowen downe  
with the wynde. Ischoma. And howe wyl  
ye cutte it, at the very toppes, or euen by  
the grounde? Socrates. If the stalke be  
short, I wyl cut it alowe, that there maye  
be strawe enough: But if it be very hre, I  
thynke better to cutte it in the myddell, to  
thentent that nother the threshers nor the  
fanners, shal take more payne in wayne thā  
nedeth, and that that remaineth, I thynke  
if it be burned, it wyl do the grounde very  
moch good, and if it be laid with the dōge,  
it wyl fyl and encrease it. Ischomachus. Do  
ye see nowe frende Socrates, how ye be  
taken in the very deede doyng, that ye  
knowe as well as I, what longeth to reape  
pynges?

To reape  
corne.

pynge: Socrates. In faythe I am aferde,  
leste it be soo in dede: And nowe wyl I se  
lyke wise, whether I can threshe or not.

Ischomachus. This ye knowe well, that  
horses do threshe corne. Socr. why shuld

I not, and not onely horses, but also moy- To the Be  
les, and oxen lykwyse: Ischomachus. But corne.

howe canne these beastes stampe well and  
threshe the corne euen as they shuld good

Socrates? Socrates. It is clere, that it is  
by the reason of theym, whyche haue the

charge of the threshyng. For they do e-  
uermore turne and stir and put vnder their

fete that that is vnthreshed, and soo they  
must nedes make it euen, and make an ende

of it as quykely as may be. Ischomachus.

Than as for thys busynes, ye knowe it as

wel as I. Socrates. Now after this good

Ischomachus, let vs cleanse the corne and

wynnowe it. Ischomachus. Tell me than

good Socrates, do ye knowe this, that if

ye beginne to wynnowe it in that part of the

wynowynge place, where the wynde is a-

gaynst you, that the chaffe wyl be scatered

abrode throughe al the winowynge place?

Soc. It muste nedes. Isch. Than it muste

nedes as wel fall vpon the corne. So. Verry

ly it is no small poynt to make the chaffe to

go beyonde the corne in a voyde roume of

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the winowynge place: But if a man begyn  
to winowe vnder the wind, or a syde halfe  
of it, than it is clere, that all the chaffe will  
voyde to the place that is ordeyned for it.  
Ischomachus. But whan ye haue clenfed  
the corne euen to the myddell of the wyn-  
nowynge place, whether than, the corne  
beinge thus scatered abroad, wyll ye wy-  
nowe the remanant, or wyll ye put fyrst to  
gether on a heape as narrowly as can be al  
that euer is cleane? Socrates. Forsothe I  
wyll fyrste put to gether on a heape al that  
is cleane, lest parauenture the chaffe be ca-  
ried about the wynowynge place, wherby  
I shoulde be fayne to wynowe twyse one  
thyng. Ischomachus. Howe than gentyl  
Socrates, ye may teache an other man, if  
ye wyll, howe he shall sonest get his corne  
clenfed. Socrates. In good saythe I had  
almost forgot, that I coude all this a gret  
whyle ago. And nowe I cast in my minde,  
whether I haue forgotten my selfe, that I  
can play on the harpe, playe vppon reco-  
ders, peynte, and carue, and other sciens-  
ces. For there was neuer man, that taught  
me these no more than to be a housebande  
man. And I see as well other men work in  
theyr sciences as housebande men labour  
the grounde. Ischomachus. And dyd not

I

I tel you but a litel afore, that this science of housebandry is wonders pleasaunte and very easy to lerne: Socrates. I knowe very well good Ischomachus, that I vnderstode and coude all maner of thynges, that do longe to sowynge, but I haue forgotten my selfe, that I coude theym. But the settinge of trees sayde I, is that any point of housebandry: Ischomachus. Yes mary.

Settinge  
of trees.

Socrates. Howe happeneth than, that I knewe well all suche thynges as longe to earynge and sowynge, and am ignoraunte in that that longeth to plantinge of trees:

Ischomachus. Be ye ignoraunte in dede:

Socrates. I must nedes be, seing I know not in what grounde a man shulde set a tre, nor howe depe, nor of what lengthe, nor what breade it be sette in, nor whan it is in the grounde, howe it shal beste growe and come vppe. Ischoma. Wel than lerne that that ye knowe not. I am sure ye haue sene, what pittes they make for trees that do set them: Socrates. That I haue very many tymes. Ischoma. And dyd ye neuer se any of them deper then thre fote: Socrates.

No mary I, nor yet deper than two fote & a halfe. Ischoma. And as for the brede did you euer se any broder than thre fote: Socrates. Forsoth & god, I neuer sawe none

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past two fote and a halfe brode. Isch. How  
answere me this agayn, Dyd ye euer se a  
ny of lesse altitide than two fote? Soc. In  
very dede I neuer sawe none of lesse alty  
tude than two foote and a halfe. For if the  
plantes were but shalowe sette, they wold  
sone be wythred vp. Ischomac. Than it is  
apparant inoughe to you good Socrates,  
that they dygge the pyttes to set in trees,  
no dyper than two fote and a halfe, nor no  
broder than two fote and a halfe. Socr. It  
muste nedes be so, seinge it is so clere. Isc.  
But touchynge the grounde, do ye knowe  
whiche is dry and which is wete, if ye se it  
Socrates. He thinketh the ground, that  
lyeth about Licabectus, or any other that  
is lyke vnto it, is drye grounde: And that  
is called a wete grounde, the whiche lyeth  
about Phalericus, full of maris all about,  
and any other lyke vnto it. Isch. Whether  
than wyll ye dygge vp a depe pitte to set in  
trees in the drye grounde or in the wete?  
Socra. In the dry ground verily. For if ye  
shuld make a dype pyt in the wete ground,  
ye shulde fynde water: and than ye coule  
not set it in the water. Ischoma. He thyn  
keth ye say very well. And whan the pittes  
be dygged vp, ye know what trees be mete  
for bothe groundes? Socrates. Very wel  
Ischo.

Ischo. And if ye wolde that the tree, whiche ye do sette, shulde growe and come vp well fauourdly, whether thynke ye it wyll better sprynge and wax mighty and strong, if ye sette vnder the erthe that hath ben labored and occupied afore, or els suche as hath ben alway vnoccupied: Socrates. It is clere inoughe sayd I, that it wyll growe and come vpp better by the reason of the erthe occupied, than of the grounde vnoccupied. Ischoma. Than there muste some erthe be put vnderneath. Soc. Why shuld it not? Isch. But whether thynke ye, that the vyne braunche, the whiche ye sette, wil gether rotes better, if ye sette it streyghte vpryght, or if ye sette it croked vnder the ground, so that it be lyke this greke letter, Y, turned vp set downe: Socr. Nary euen so. For than there shall be the more rootes in the erthe, wherby the plant shall stande the faster, and soo many the mo braunches shall sprynge vp. Ischoma. Wel than in this matter wee haue bothe one opinion. But whether wyl ye no more but cast the erthe to the plant that ye set, or els wil ye treade & rāme it harde downe: So. Forsoth I wil treade & stampe it harde to. for els it were icoperdy, lest the raine wold lightly perce in, and so rotte and marre the rotes, or els the

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the sonne dryinge the erthe away from the  
rootes of the plante, shulde lewse and vn-  
fasten it, and so kyl it. Isch. wei than good  
Socrates, we be bothe of one opinion tou-  
chinge settinge of vines. Socrates. And  
shal I sette a fygge tree after the same ma-  
ner? Ischoma. Yes I trowe, and all other  
trees lyke wyse. For if ye can sette vynes  
well, what other settinge is there but that  
ye may take it vpon you lyke wise? Socra.  
But howe shulde we set olyue trees good  
Ischomachus? I pray you proue afore a-  
ny thyng, whether I can any skille ther-  
in. Ischo. Ye se how there is a good depe  
pytte digged for an olyue tree, I wote wel  
ye coude not chose but se it, seinge they be  
digged euen by the highe waies syde. Also  
ye se howe the very stockes of the olyues  
be sette in the settinge place. And farther  
ye se how there is clay laide vpon the top-  
pes of them: And how of all trees that be  
planted, there are none couered aboue, but  
onely the same. Socrates. All this I se  
well Ischomach. And whan ye se it, what  
shulde be the let, that ye shulde not knowe  
it: excepte paraduventure ye canne not tell  
howe to clappe a shell fast to the clay, that  
is set on the toppe therof? Socrates. By  
my faythe, of all this that ye haue spoken,  
there

there is nothyng but I knowe it. And now I caste in my mynde agayne, what is the cause, that whan ye asked me but a lyttell afore in generall, whether I coude set trees, I sayd no. For me thought I coude not tell, howe a man shuld sette trees. But after ye beganne to enquire of me euerye thyng by it selfe, I aunswered you accordyng to your mynde, and to your own opinion, the whiche is called the moste perfecte houseband man, that is now at this day aliue. Is not my chaunce good I sch. sayde I, askinge a maner of teching? For I haue lerned and canne well now euerye thyng by it selfe, what so euer ye haue demanded of me. For ye leade me by suche thynges, as I am skilled in and vnderstand, vnto suche thynges as I perceyued not: and soo ye perswade and make me belcue, that I knowe them as well as the tother. I schomachus. Well, thynke ye, that if I asked you after the same maner, touchinge syluer or golde, whiche is good and whiche is badde, that I coude perswade you, that ye be a good finer of golde and siluer? And agayne, I coude not perswade you, if I asked you neuer so moch, that ye canne playe vpon recorders, or that ye can peinte, or do any suche thynges. Socra. Parad-  
uenture

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venture yes. For ye haue perswaded me,  
that I haue well the science of houseban-  
dry: and yet I knowe well, that there was  
neuer any body, that taught me that sciēce.  
Ischomachus. It is not so good Socrates:  
For I haue tolde you a praty whyle agoo,  
that housbandry is so pleasante and soo fa-  
myliar a science, that they, the whiche doo  
eyther se it, or here tel of it, be euen by and  
by wel lerned in it. And also it sheweth ma-  
ny thynges it selfe for a man to lerne, howe  
to order it beste. For euen at the fyrste the  
vine, the which crepeth vpon the trees, if  
there be any neere hande, sheweth, that it  
woulde be holpen vppe and susteined. And  
whanne it spredeth abroad his leaues and  
braunches, the grapes beinge yet but very  
tender, it sheweth, that in that season, it  
woulde haue shadowe made there vnto it,  
where as the heate of the sonne lyeth sore  
vpon it. And whan it is tyme for the gra-  
pes to wax ripe and swete, the whiche is  
caused onely by heate of the sonne, it let-  
teth the leaues falle, to teache the house-  
band men, that it woulde be lyghtned and  
eased, that the fruite mae the berter waxe  
ripe. And whan that by the reason it hath  
brought forth moch fruite, and some ar ripe  
and some not, it sheweth, that those clou-  
sters,

sters that be ripe, must be gathered, like as  
on frygge trees they must be taken downe,  
that be ripe and redy to be gathered. So-  
crates. Howe can this be, good Ischemas-  
chus, if housebanery be so easy to lerne, &  
euery man knoweth what is to be done, as  
well one as an other, that they haue not a  
lyuinge by it all a lyke? For some haue gret  
plenty and lyne welthylye, and other some  
haue scantly so moche as they nede, and be  
in dette to other men: Ischomachus. Ma-  
ry I wyll tell you good Socrates, it is no-  
ther the knowlege nor lacke of knowlege  
of housebande menne, that makethe some  
of them ryche and some poore. For ye shal  
not lyghtly here suche a tale go about, that  
suche a mannes house is vndoone, bycause  
he hath not sowed euen: or bycause that he  
hath not well sette or planted his trees: or  
bycause he knewe not what grounde was  
good for vines, he hath set his in a naugh-  
ty ground: or bycause he knewe not, that  
it was good to fallowe the grounde before  
he dydde sowe it: or bycause he knewe not,  
that it was good to dounge it. But this ye  
may here often tymes very wel. This man  
getteth no crop on his grounde this yere.  
For he hath made no prouisyon to gette it  
sowed, or to get it dounced. And agayne:

This

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This man getteth no wyne. For he nother careth to plante any vines in his ground, nor seeth nothyng to those that be alreedy planted, to make them brynge forth the some fruite. This man hath no oyle. This man hath no fygges: For he wyll take no peyn nor apply his minde to haue any. These be the causes good Socrates, that make one housebande man to differ from an other, & to be also vnlyke in substance and in riches, a great deale more, than yf any of theym seemed to be experter in his workes and busynesses. And of the capytaynes of war lyke wyse, there be many, the which haue equally good wytte and very good syghte in suche thynges as do longe to warre, and yet there be some of theym better and somme worse, and that is through the diuersity of takynge hede and of dyligence. For suche thynges as all capytaynes do knowe, and also the mooste parte of theym, that were neuer in that dignitie, some capytaynes do the and some not. As thus. All they know, that it is better for them, that shall leade an armye throughe theyr ennemyes lande, to marche forward in good order and array: that they may be alway redy to fyghte, yf nede be. And yet some of them that knowe this very wel, do it, and some do not. Also  
all

Also all they knowe, that it is best to kepe watches and scoutwatches both by nyght and by daye: And yet some of them se well to, that it be surely kepte, and some do not. Agayne, whanne they leade theyr armye throughe narrowe places, ye shal almoste fynde none, but that he knoweth, it is better to preuente theyr ennemyes by tymes than to late. And yet some of the do their dyligence, that they maye so do, and some do not. And lyke wyse of doungyng. Euer ry man saieth, it is very good and necessary for the grounde to dunge it. And they se, howe men maye haue it bothe of beastes in his owne kynde, and also finde other meanes to haue it, and make easily a very gret deale therof. And yet some take hede, that it be gethered, and some lette it passe, and care not for it. Yet god sendeth rayne from aboue, and all maner of holowe grounde receyueth it, and kepeth it, and waxeth a pouddell with it. The grounde bryngeth forth all maner of wydes and naughty harlotry. And he that wyll sowe, muste fyrste rydde and purge the grounde, and suche wydes and thinges as he gethereth out of the lande, if he caste them into the water, in proces of tyme, it wolle be as good, and as holsome to the grounde, as any doun-  
gynge.

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gyng. For what wydes be there, or what  
grounde is it, that wyll not become donge  
in very dede, if it be caste in to standyng  
water? More ouer what remedy is there,  
if the grounde be to weete to sowe in it, or  
to sowe to set trees in it? Euery man know-  
eth, that the water muste be voyded out  
by makyng of dytches and sloughes pour-  
posely therfore: and howe the sourenes is  
minished and mitigated, if al maner of thin-  
ges, the whych be not soure, whether they  
be drye or wete, be myngled there with.  
And some housebandes take good hede to  
this, and some regarde it not. But if a man  
knowe neuer a whit, what the ground wyll  
bryng forth, nor can se nother fruit nor tre  
in it, nor speke with no man, that shall tell  
hym the trouth of it: is it not farre a great  
deale easyer to haue a proffe of it, than ey-  
ther of a hors or a mā? For that that it shew-  
eth, it is not shewed falsely and colorably  
but tilled, it sheweth the very trouth, with-  
out any fayninge, what it can brynge forth,  
and what not. And forsothe me thynketh,  
that the grounde doth best examine, which  
be good, and which be vnthyfty housebā-  
des, in that that it setteth forth al maner of  
thynges so easy to be lerned, and so soone to  
be knowen. For it is not in housbādry as it  
is

of householde.

5

is in other craftes, that they, the whiche  
do not worke, may excuse them selves, and  
say, that they can not skyl to do it: but eue-  
ry man knoweth, that if the ground be wel  
tylled & housebandly hadled, it sheweth vs  
pleasure agayn for it. And surely housban-  
dry is it, that beste moneth a mans vnlusty  
coirage and sluggishe disposition. For there  
is no man can perswade hym selfe, that a  
man can lyue without suche thynges as be  
necessary. But he that hath no sciēce, wher  
by he maye gette his lyuynge, nor wyl not  
fal to housebandry: it is clere, he is eyther  
a starte foole, or els he purposeth to gette  
his lyuynge by robbynge and stelynge, or  
els by beggynge. More ouer, sayde he, it  
made gretly to the matter, concerning the  
gettynge or losynge by housebandry, that  
whan they haue many laborers and seruā-  
tes, that the tone taketh good hede, that  
his worke men be set to their worke in due  
season and tyme, and the tother dothe not.  
For that man is better than ten other, that  
falleth to his worke in season. And that mā  
is farre worse than an other, the which suf-  
feth his workemen to leane their worke  
and go theyr way ouer tymely. And as for  
betwene hym, that suffeth his worke men  
and labourers to tryfyll awaye the daye,

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and

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and hym that wyl not, there is as greatte difference, as betwene the holle worke finished and the haffe of it: Lykewyse as in iourneying by the way in fyfty myle space, two men, whiche go bothe one waye, and though they be bothe as swyfte, as hole, as yonge, and as lusty, the one as the tother: yet the one shall ouer go the tother xxv. myle in a day, if the one goth on his iourney lustyly, and the tother for slouth and cherisshynge of hym selfe, resteth by the way, besydes springes and fountaines, and seketh for shadowes and softe winde to refreish hym with. Lyke wyse in workynge there is greate oddes, whan a man dothe applye lustyly his worke, and whan he dothe not, and rather fyndeth excuses, why he shulde not worke, and suffereth his folke euery daye to trifle forth the tyme. And as for to worke well and diligently, or to worke naught and negligently, there is as greate dyfference betwene these two thynges, as is betwene hym that worketh and hym that worketh neuer a whytte. For whan they go about to cense the vines fro wydes and harlotry, if they digge in suche wyse that therby growe vp mo and greater wydes than didde before, why maye it not be said, that they were idle & wrought  
neuer

neuer a whytte. And therfore these be the  
thynges, by the whiche many mens hous=  
holdes be a great deale rather vndone, thā  
for lacke of science or of great knowledge.  
For a man that is at great costes and char=  
ges in his house, and can not gette as mo=  
che, nother by his rentes, nor by his hous=  
bandry, as wyl fynde hym and his meyny,  
it is no maruayle, if in the stede of greatte  
plenty and riches, he fall into extreme po=  
uertie. But vnto suche men as wyl dylig=  
entlye apply them selfe to housebandry,  
and increase theyr substaunce, and shortely  
waxe riche therby, my father shewed some  
tyme a good precepte, the whiche also he  
taught vnto me. He counsailed me, that I  
shulde neuer bye that ground, the whiche  
hath benne well laboured and tilled, but  
suche a grounde, as remayned vnlaboured  
and vntilled, either throughe theyr negly=  
gence, that owed it, or elles bycause they  
were not able to do it. For the ground that  
is well tilled and dyght, wyl coste moche  
more money, and yet it is than euen at the  
beste: And the grounde, that can waxe no  
better, can not make a man to haue so mo=  
che pleasure, and to reioyce soo moche, as  
the tother doth, whiche waxeth better and  
better. For he thought, that all maner of

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goodes, whether it be lande or cattell, the  
whyche do encrease and waxe better, caus  
seth a man to haue more pleasure and ioye  
in it. And there is nothyng, that increas  
seth more than doth that grounde, the whi  
che laye before vntylled and vndyght, and  
nowe is waxed good and frutefull. And be  
ye sure of this good Socra. that we haue  
often tymes made moche lande, that we  
haue boughte, a greatte deale more worth  
than the price that it was bought for at the  
fyrste. And this caste, that is not so nota  
ble, & so profitable, is so easy to lerne, that  
nowe ye haue ones harde it: ye canne it as  
well as I, and maye teache it vnto other,  
if ye lyst. But as for my father, he neuer  
lerned it of none other man, nor neuer spēt  
great study to fynde it oute: But by cause  
his mynd was greatly set vpon houseban  
dry, and also he had a pleasure to laboure,  
he sayd, he desyred to haue suche a ground,  
that both he myght haue somewhat to do,  
and also that the profytte commynge of it,  
might reioyce him. For me thinketh good  
Socrates, that of al the Atheniens, my fa  
thers minde was moste set vpon houseban  
dry, euen of his owne nature. Socrates.  
And whan I hard that, I asked him: whe  
ther dyd your father kepe styll to hym self  
any

any of it, if he coulde get moche money for  
it: Ischomachus. Yes mary, he did sel som  
of it nowe and than: z immediately after he  
wolde bye an other piece, that lay vntilled  
and vndyghte, bycause his mynde was so  
muche set to laboure and to housebandrye.  
Socrates. Forsothe good Ischomachus,  
ye shewe me here a maruaylous desire and  
affection, that your father hadde to house-  
bandry, none otherwise as me thynkethe,  
than some marchauntes myndes be set vp-  
pon wheate. For marchaunte men by the  
reason that they: hartes is sore fixed vpon  
wheate, where so euer they here that ther  
is moste wheate, thither wyll they in anye  
wyse resorte, and wyll not stycke for daun-  
ger to passe any see what so euer it be. And  
whan they haue bought vp as moche ther  
of as they can get, they shyp it in the selfe  
same shyppe, that they sayle in them selfe,  
and so bryng it home. And whan they haue  
nede of money, I trowe they do not sel it a  
way rashely, not carryng in what place, as  
though they desyred to be lightlyly dispat-  
ched therof: but they brynge it thither to  
sell, where they here, that wheate is at a  
great price, and where as men wolde very  
fayne haue it. Ischo. Wel Socrat. ye ieste  
with me: but yet me thinketh he loueth the

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macons crafte neuer the worse, that buyldeth houses and selleth them, and maketh newe agayne afterwarde. Socrates. By my faythe I swere to you good Ischoma. I beleue you very well, in that ye thynke, that euery manne loueth beste, and setteth his mynde moste vpon that thyng, whereby he thynketh to gette any great profyt. But nowe I consyder in my mynde, howe well al your communication hath serued to the purpose and grounde of this matter. For youre grounde and begynnynge was, that the science of housebandry is sooneste and best lerned of all other sciences: And now by the reasō of that that ye haue said, I am vtterly perswaded, that it is so. For sothe sayde Ischomachus, it is so in verry dede. But as for that thyng that is egally common to all mens dedes, whether it be in the exercyse of housebandrye, or in the orderynge of an house, or in the gouerning of a citie, or in the knowledge and science of feates of warre, I graunt you very wel, that there be somme men, that haue a farre better wytte, a farre better caste and policy, and knowe better howe to rule and commaunde, than somme other doo. Lyke as in a galey whan they be on the se, and must dryue as farre with oores in a daye as they shoulde

shulde sayle, there be some, that be sette to comforte and courage them, the whiche haue so good grace bothe in their wordes and in theyr dedes, that they so quickē and encourage men, that they laboure with all theyr verry hartes. And there be other some so grosse and so rude, that they wyll be twyse as longe in makynge of theyr visage, as the tother were. And as for the tother, they come downe rushynge meryly, sweatynge and preylynge one an other.

And as for these felowes they come downe layserly, and they neuer sweate for the matter, they hate the mayster of the galey, and he agayn hateth them. And after the same maner there be some Capytaynes, that do differ one from an other. For there be some, that can not byng it to passe, to make their souldiours gladd to take peine, nor to put them selfe in ieopardy, but euen verry than whā they cā not chose, but they wil rather boost them selfe, and take it for a gret preise, that they maye contrarye the Capytaynes mynde, nor the capitaynes can not instruct them to be asshamed, if any thyng misfortune, that is worthy of rebuke. But there be other, whiche be good, wyse, and polytyke capytaynes, the which if they take in hande the selfe same men, or paraduenture

lb. v.

other,

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other, as they do often tymes, they wyll make them to be ashamed to do any thyng, that shoulde turne to theyr rebuke, and to thynke that it is beste for them, both to be obediēte euery one of them by him selfe, and whanne nede requireth to take payne, gladdely to do it all to gether with a verye good wyl. And lykewyse as there be some pryuate men, the whyche of theyr own nature, be gladd to take labour and payne, so a good capitayne engendreth this affection in all his hostis mynde, that they be gladd to be put to payne, and they coueyt nothyng els so moche, as to be preised for some greatte and notable acte, done in the syght of theyr capitaine. And what so euer capitaynes they be, that haue such men of warre vnder them, beryng to them ward so good mynde and fauour, I saye they in very dede be myghty and stronge: and not they, the whyche haue a great mighty body, and can throwe a darte, and shote very well: Nor they that haue good horses, and can ruine with a speare and iuste afore any man: but they that can brynge theyr souldiours into suche affection and beleue, that they wolde gladly folowe them throughe fyre and water, and throughe all maner of daunger. Suche men maye well be called  
hardy

hardy and valyaunte, that haue soo manye bolde men redy and p̄este to do what soo euer they commaunde. And it may well be sayde, that he goth forward with a myghty stronge hande, that hath soo many handes folowynge hym ready at his pleasure. And he maye be called a very greatte man in dede, the whiche doth very great actes, more by prudence and wysedome, thanne throughe the strength of his body. Moreover, whether he be a debytie or a ruler, that can make men redy and gladde to applye theyr worke, and brynge them to continue well in it, they be those, that shal sooneste gette goodes, and growe to greatte substaunce. And as for the mayster, if he be suche a man, that can well punyshe the labourers, that do nought, and reward them that do very well, yet whan he cometh to the workes, if the labourers do make noo shewe of it, I wyll not set greatly by hym: but he, the whiche whan they do se hym, they be all moued and stirred vp, and haue a gret courage and desire one to do better than an other, and a feruente mynde to be preysed aboue al, I say, that that man hath somme thyng of the disposition longynge to a kynge. And me thynkethe it is a very great poynt in al maner of thynges, that be  
done

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done by the helpe of men, as well as it is  
in housebandry. And to obteyne it, verily  
I wyll not saye, as I haue dooen in houses  
bandry, that a man shall lerne it, if he ones  
seeth it, or hereth it tolde. But I saye, he  
that wyll be able to do it, hadde nede to be  
very well instructe, and eke to be of a good  
gentyll nature, and that is mooste of al, to  
haue a very great grace and gyfte of god.  
For me thynketh, this grace cometh not  
all of man, to rule and gouerne so, that men  
very gladly wyl be obedient, but it is ra-  
ther a speciall gyfte of almyghty god:  
and graunteth it vnto them that be  
indowed with vertue and tem-  
peraunce. But to rule men  
tyrāously agaynst their  
wylles, he putteth  
them vnto it (as  
me semeth)  
that he  
ingeth worthy, as they say, that  
Tantalus dryueth forth  
the tyme in helle, be-  
inge alwaye aserd  
to dye twise.

FINIS.

LONDINI in ædibus Tho-  
mæ Bertheleti typis  
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CVM PRIVILEGIO  
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